

21

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

British

Archaeological Association,

ESTABLISHED 1843.

FOR THE

ENCOURAGEMENT AND PROSECUTION OF RESEARCHES
INTO THE ARTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE
EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES.

59

NEW SERIES, VOL. IX.—1903.



London :

PRINTED FOR THE ASSOCIATION.

MCMIII.

42

11612

LONDON :

PRINTED AT THE BEDFORD PRESS, 20 AND 21, BEDFORDBURY, W.C.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Preface	VII
Rules of the Association	iii
List of Congresses	vii
Officers and Council for the Session 1901-2	ix
List of Associates	x
Local Members of the Council	xviii
Honorary Correspondents	xix
Honorary Foreign Members	xxi
List of Societies exchanging Publications	xxii

1. Inaugural Address. By Lieut.-Colonel CLIFFORD PROBYN, J.P., L.C.C.	1
2. Buried Treasure : Some Traditions, Records, and Facts. By W. J. ANDREW, Esq., F.S.A.	8
3. Britain's Burse, or the New Exchange. By T. N. BRUSHFIELD, Esq., M.D., F.S.A.	33
4. Hulne Priory, Alnwick, Northumberland. By GEO. PATRICK, Esq., A.R.I.B.A.	49
5. Some Further Notes on the Langbank Crannog. By the Rev. H. J. DUKINFIELD ASTLEY, M.A., F.R.Hist.Soc.	59
6. Britain's Burse, or the New Exchange (<i>continued</i>). By T. N. BRUSHFIELD, Esq., M.D., F.S.A.	81
7. On the Archæology of Woad. By CHARLES B. PLOWRIGHT, M.D.	95
8. The Castle of Dunstanburgh. By C. H. COMPTON, Esq., V.-P.	111
9. The "Galilee" Considered as a Place of Sanctuary. By Rev. C. H. EVELYN-WHITE, F.S.A.	117
10. The Chislehurst Caves and Dene-Holes. By W. J. NICHOLS, Esq., V.-P.	147
11. Notes on the Granges of Margam Abbey. By THOMAS GRAY, Esq., J.P.	161

	PAGE
12. <i>Oatlands in Weybridge.</i> By W. S. KERSHAW, F.S.A.	182
13. <i>The Mining Tribes of Ancient Britain.</i> By Rev. W. S. LACH-SZYRMA, M.A.	191

<i>Proceedings of the Annual Congress (Westminster and Home Counties)</i>	65, 133, 197
<i>Proceedings of the Association</i>	76, 137, 205
<i>Election of Associates</i>	76, 138, 205, 206, 210
<i>Presents to the Library</i>	76, 77, 80, 137, 138, 207
<i>Annual General Meeting</i>	138
<i>Election of Officers for the Session 1903</i>	139
<i>Hon. Secretaries' Report</i>	139
<i>Balance Sheet for the year ending Dec. 30, 1902</i>	140

Antiquarian Intelligence :—

<i>Life and Times of Alfred the Great.</i> Charles Plummer, MA.	211
<i>The Literature of the Celts.</i> Magnus MacLean, M.A.	211
<i>Suffolk in the Seventeenth Century.</i> Lord Francis Hervey	213
<i>The Roll-Call of Westminster Abbey.</i> Mrs. A. Murray Smith	214
<i>Jeanne d'Arc, Maid of Orleans, 1429-1431.</i> T. Douglas Murray	215
<i>John Lackland.</i> Kate Norgate	217
<i>Staple Inn and Its Story.</i> T. Cato Worsfold, F.R.Hist.Soc.	219
<i>Memorials of Old Northamptonshire.</i> Alice Dryden	221
<i>A History of Architecture.</i> Banister Fletcher and Banister F. Fletcher	222
<i>Old English Doorways.</i> W. Galsworthy Davie and H. Tanner	222
<i>Andrea Palladio, his Life and Times.</i> Banister F. Fletcher	223
<i>The Smith Family.</i> Compton Reade	223
<i>British Family Names.</i> H. Barber	224
<i>Walton and Some Earlier Writers on Fish and Fishing.</i> R. B. Marston	224
<i>The Enemies of Books.</i> William Blades	224
<i>Books Fatal to their Authors.</i> P. H. Ditchfield	224
<i>The Book of Noodles.</i> W. A. Clauston	224
<i>The Gentleman's Magazine Library</i>	224

Antiquarian Intelligence (*continued*):—

	PAGE
<i>Social England</i>	224
<i>Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie</i>	225
<i>Studi di Storia Antica</i>	227
<i>Hierurgia Anglicana</i>	227
<i>The First Prayer-Book of King Edward VI.</i>	228
<i>The Love-Letters of Dorothy Osborne to Sir William Temple.</i>	229
<i>The Scottish Historical Review</i>	229
Archæological Discoveries in Portugal	231
Index	233

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

	PAGE
1. Britain's Burse ; Plan of 1626 (Plate)	33
2. Ditto—View of Ivy Lane (Plate)	34
3. Ditto—River Front of Durham House and Plan of Durham House Estate (Plate)	<i>ib.</i>
4. Ditto—The Strand Front of Britain's Burse, or the New Exchange (Plate)	39
5. Ground Plan of Hulne Priory	56
6. Langbank Crannog : General View and Specimens of the " Finds " (Plate)	61
7. Bronze Antiquities	79
8. Britain's Burse—Durham Gatehouse (Plate)	84
9. Ditto—Westminster, from Norden's " Speculum Britanniae," 1593 (Plate)	<i>ib.</i>
10. Ditto—Adelphi Buildings and Terrace (Plate)	91
11. The Archaeology of Woad—Woad Spud in Use at Parson Drove, Cambs., 1900	96
12. Ditto—Wedelius' Apparatus for Collecting Ammonia	101
13. Ditto—Ranges for Drying Woad Balls	104
14. Ditto—Woad Culture and Preparation in Thuringia, 1752	106
15. Ditto—Languedoc Woad Mill	107
16. Ditto—Apparatus for Extracting Indigo from Woad Leaves	109
17. Chislehurst Caves and Dene-Holes—The Altar Table in the Centre Gallery	152
18. Ditto—The Altar Table in the Long Gallery	153
19. Ditto—Sections of a Dene-Hole and Ground Plan	155
20. Notes on the Granges of Margam Abbey—The South Side of the Building (Plate)	166
21. Ditto—Sepulchral Stone of St. Thomas	167
22. Ditto—Ancient Doorway in North Side of St. Thomas' Chapel (Plate)	168
23. Ditto—The Bodvoc Stone	180
24. Oatlands in Weybridge—The Old Palace at Oatlands (Plate)	182
25. Ditto—Oatlands in 1801 (Plate)	189

PREFACE.

THE NINTH VOLUME OF THE NEW SERIES OF THE JOURNAL OF THE BRITISH ARCHEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION for the year 1903 contains the Papers which were laid before the Westminster and Home Counties Congress, and several which were read during the recent Session (1902-1903) in London, together with the Proceedings of the Congress, and the Evening Meetings. Plates and drawings, for many of which we are indebted to the Authors of Papers, will be found; and by this means, as well as by the variety of its contents, the volume is rendered no less attractive and interesting than those that have gone before. It also contains, as usual, notes of new discoveries, and reviews of books on archæological subjects.

Several old and valued Members have been removed during the year by resignation or death: among whom must be specially mentioned the Earl of Stair, a Life-Member of long standing; Sir Llewelyn Turner; and Mr. W. H. Cope, V.-P., F.S.A., an authority on ancient ecclesiastical stained glass; but, on the other hand, a large number of new Members have joined the Association since the Congress at Sheffield. It is to be hoped that this progress may be maintained, for only in this

way can the losses suffered through the lapse of years be repaired, and the Association, invigorated with ever-renewed energy, be rendered capable of continuing in the future the good and useful work in the vast and ever-widening field of archaeology which it has accomplished in the past.

H. J. DUKINFIELD ASTLEY.

December 31st, 1903.

British Archaeological Association.

THE BRITISH ARCHAEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION was founded in 1843, to investigate, preserve, and illustrate all ancient monuments of the history, manners, customs, and arts of our forefathers, in furtherance of the principles on which the Society of Antiquaries of London was established; and to aid the objects of that Institution by rendering available resources which had not been drawn upon, and which, indeed, did not come within the scope of any antiquarian or literary society.

The means by which the Association proposed to effect this object are:

1. By holding communication with Correspondents throughout the kingdom, and with provincial Antiquarian Societies, as well as by intercourse with similar Associations in foreign countries.

2. By holding frequent and regular Meetings for the consideration and discussion of communications made by the Associates, or received from Correspondents.

3. By promoting careful observation and preservation of antiquities discovered in the progress of public works, such as railways, sewers, foundations of buildings, etc.

4. By encouraging individuals or associations in making researches and excavations, and affording them suggestions and co-operation.

5. By opposing and preventing, as far as may be practicable, all injuries with which Ancient National Monuments of every description may from time to time be threatened.

6. By using every endeavour to spread abroad a correct taste for Archaeology, and a just appreciation of Monuments of Ancient Art, so as ultimately to secure a general interest in their preservation.

7. By collecting accurate drawings, plans, and descriptions of Ancient National Monuments, and, by means of Correspondents, preserving authentic memorials of all antiquities not later than 1750, which may from time to time be brought to light.

8. By establishing a *Journal* devoted exclusively to the objects of the Association, as a means of spreading antiquarian information and maintaining a constant communication with all persons interested in such pursuits.

9. By holding Annual Congresses in different parts of the country, to examine into their special antiquities, to promote an interest in them, and thereby conduce to their preservation.

Thirteen public Meetings are held from November to June, on the Wednesdays given on the next page, during the session, at eight o'clock in the evening, for the reading and discussion of papers, and for the inspection of all objects of antiquity forwarded to the Council. To these Meetings Associates have the privilege of introducing friends.

Persons desirous of becoming Associates, or of promoting in any way the objects of the Association, are requested to apply either personally or by letter to the Secretaries; or to the Sub-Treasurer, Samuel Rayson, Esq., 32 Sackville Street, W., to whom subscriptions, by Post Office Order or otherwise, crossed "Bank of England, W. Branch", should be transmitted.

The payment of ONE GUINEA annually is required of the Associates, or FIFTEEN GUINEAS as a Life Subscription, by which the Subscribers are entitled to a copy of the quarterly *Journal* as published, and permitted to acquire the publications of the Association at a reduced price.

Associates are required to pay an entrance fee of ONE GUINEA, except when the intending Associate is already a member of the Society of Antiquaries, of the Royal Archæological Institute, or of the Society of Biblical Archæology, in which case the entrance-fee is remitted. The annual payments are due in advance.

Papers read before the Association should be transmitted to the *Editor* of the Association, 32, Sackville Street; if they are accepted by the Council they will be printed in the volumes of the *Journal*, and they will be considered to be the property of the Association. Every author is responsible for the statements contained in his paper. The published *Journals* may be had of the Treasurer and other officers of the Association at the following prices:—Vol. I, out of print. The other volumes, £1:1 each to Associates; £1:11:6 to the public, with the exception of certain volumes in excess of stock, which may be had by members at a reduced price on application to the Honorary Secretaries. The special volumes of TRANSACTIONS of the CONGRESSES held at WINCHESTER and at GLOUCESTER are charged to the public, £1:11:6; to the Associates, 5s.

By a Resolution of the Council, passed on January 18th, 1899, Associates may now procure the Volumes of the First Series (I-L), so far as still in print, at 5s. each, or the single parts at 1s. 3d. each.

In addition to the *Journal*, published every quarter, it has been found necessary to publish occasionally another work entitled *Collectanea Archæologica*. It embraces papers whose length is too great for a periodical journal, and such as require more extensive illustration than can be given in an octavo form. It is, therefore, put forth in quarto, uniform with the *Archæologia* of the Society of Antiquaries, and sold to the public at 7s. 6d. each Part, but may be had by the Associates at 5s. (*See coloured wrapper of the quarterly Parts.*)

An Index for the first thirty volumes of the *Journal* has been prepared by Walter de Gray Birch, Esq., F.S.A. Present price to Associates, 5s.; to the public, 7s. 6d. Another Index, to volumes xxxi-xlii, the *Collectanea Archæologica*, and the two extra vols. for the Winchester and Gloucester Congresses, also now ready (uniform). Price to Associates, 10s. 6d.; to the public, 15s.

Public Meetings held on Wednesday evenings, at No. 32, Sackville Street, Piccadilly, at 8 o'clock precisely.

The Meetings for Session 1902-1903 are as follows:—1902, Nov. 5, 19; Dec. 3; 1903, Jan. 14, 21; Feb. 4, 18; March 4, 18; April 1, 15; May 6 (Annual General Meeting), 20; June 3.

Visitors will be admitted by order from Associates; or by writing their names, and those of the members by whom they are introduced. The Council Meetings are held at Sackville Street on the same day as the Public Meetings, at half-past 4 o'clock precisely.

RULES OF THE ASSOCIATION.

THE BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION shall consist of Patrons, Associates, Local Members of Council, Honorary Correspondents, and Honorary Foreign Members.

1. The Patrons,—a class confined to members of the royal family or other illustrious persons.
2. The Associates shall consist of ladies or gentlemen elected by the Council, and who, upon the payment of one guinea entrance fee (except when the intending Associate is already a Member of the Society of Antiquaries of London, of the Royal Archæological Institute, or of the Society of Biblical Archæology), and a sum of not less than one guinea annually, or fifteen guineas as a life-subscription, shall become entitled to receive a copy of the quarterly *Journal* published by the Association, to attend all meetings, vote in the election of Officers and Council, and admit one visitor to each of the ordinary meetings of the Association.
3. The Local Members of Council shall consist of such of the Associates elected from time to time by the Council, on the nomination of two of its members, who shall promote the views and objects of the Association in their various localities, and report the discovery of antiquarian objects to the Council. There shall be no limit to their number, but in their election the Council shall have regard to the extent and importance of the various localities which they will represent. The Local Members shall be entitled to attend the meetings of the Council, to advise them, and report on matters of archæological interest which have come to their notice; but they shall not take part in the general business of the Council, or be entitled to vote on any subject.
4. The Honorary Correspondents,—a class embracing all interested in the investigation and preservation of antiquities; to be qualified for election on the recommendation of the President or Patron, or of two Members of the Council, or of four Associates.
5. The Honorary Foreign Members shall be confined to illustrious or learned foreigners who may have distinguished themselves in antiquarian pursuits.

ADMINISTRATION.

To conduct the affairs of the Association there shall be annually elected a President, fifteen Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, Sub-Treasurer, two Honorary Secretaries, and eighteen other Associates, all of whom shall constitute the Council, and two Auditors without seats in the Council.

The past Presidents shall be *ex officio* Vice-Presidents for life, with the same *status* and privileges as the elected Vice-Presidents, and take precedence in the order of service.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS AND COUNCIL.

1. The President, Vice-Presidents, members of Council, and Officers, shall be elected at the Annual General Meeting, to be held on the first Wednesday in May in each year. Such election shall be conducted by ballot, which shall continue open during at least one hour. A majority of votes shall determine the election. Every Associate balloting shall deliver his name to the Chairman, and afterwards put his list, filled up, into the balloting box. The presiding officer shall nominate two Scrutators, who, with one or more of the Secretaries, shall examine the lists and report thereon to the General Meeting.

2. If any member of the Council, elected at the Annual General Meeting, shall not have attended three meetings of the Council, at least, during the current session, the Council shall, at their meeting held next before the Annual Meeting, by a majority of votes of the members present, recommend whether it is desirable that such member shall be eligible for re-election or not, and such recommendation shall be submitted to the Annual Meeting on the ballot papers.

CHAIRMAN OF MEETINGS.

1. The President, when present, shall take the chair at all meetings of the Association. He shall regulate the discussions and enforce the laws of the Association.

2. In the absence of the President, the chair shall be taken by the Treasurer, or by the senior or only Vice-President present, and willing to preside; or in default, by the senior elected Member of Council or some officer present.

3. The Chairman shall, in addition to his own vote, have a casting vote when the suffrages are equal.

THE TREASURER.

The Treasurer shall hold the finances of the Association, discharge all debts previously presented to and approved of by the Council, and shall make up his accounts to the 31st of December

in each year, and having had his accounts audited he shall lay them before the Annual Meeting. Two-thirds of the life-subscriptions received by him shall be invested in such security as the Council may approve.

THE SECRETARIES.

The Secretaries shall attend all meetings of the Association, transmit notices to the Members, and read the letters and papers communicated to the Association. The notices of meetings of the Council shall state the business to be transacted, including the names of any candidates for the office of Vice-President or Members of Council, but not the names of proposed Associates or Honorary Correspondents.

THE COUNCIL.

1. The Council shall superintend and regulate the proceedings of the Association, and elect the Associates; whose names, when elected, are to be read over at the ordinary meetings.

2. The Council shall meet on the days on which the ordinary meetings of the Association are held, or as often as the business of the Association shall require, and five members shall be a quorum.

3. An extraordinary meeting of the Council may be held at any time by order of the President, or by a requisition signed by five of its members, stating the purpose thereof, addressed to the Secretaries, who shall issue notices of such meeting to every member.

4. The Council shall fill up any vacancy that may occur in any of the offices or among its own members, notice of proposed election being given at the immediately preceding Council meeting.

5. The Council shall submit a report of its proceedings to the Annual Meeting.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

1. The ordinary meetings of the Association shall be held on the first and third Wednesdays in November, the first Wednesday in December, the third Wednesday in January, the first and third Wednesdays in the months from February to April inclusive the third Wednesday in May, and the first Wednesday in June, at 8 o'clock in the evening precisely, for the purpose of inspecting and conversing upon the various objects of antiquity transmitted to the Association, and such other business as the Council may appoint.

The Annual General Meeting of the Association shall be held on the first Wednesday in May in each year, at 4.30 P.M. precisely, at which the President, Vice-Presidents, and officers of the Association shall be elected, and such other business shall be conducted

as may be deemed advisable for the well-being of the Association; but none of the rules of the Association shall be repealed or altered unless twenty-eight days' notice of intention to propose such repeal or alteration shall have been given to the Secretaries, and they shall have notified the same to the Members of the Council at their meeting held next after receipt of the notice.

2. An extraordinary general meeting of the Association may at any time be convened by order of the President, or by a requisition signed by twenty Associates, stating the object of the proposed meeting, addressed to the Secretaries, who shall issue notices accordingly, stating therein the object for which the meeting is called.

3. A General Public Meeting or Congress shall be held annually in such town or place in the United Kingdom, at such time and for such period as shall be considered most advisable by the Council, to which Associates, Correspondents, and others, shall be admitted by ticket, upon the payment of one guinea, which shall entitle the bearer, and also a lady, to be present at all meetings either for the reading of papers, the exhibition of antiquities, the holding of *conversazioni*, or the making of excursions to examine any objects of antiquarian interest.

4. The Officers having the management of the Congress shall submit their accounts to the Council at their next meeting after the Congress shall have been held, and a detailed account of their personal expenses, accompanied by as many vouchers as they can produce.

ANNULMENT OF MEMBERSHIP.

If there shall be any ground alleged, other than the non-payment of subscriptions, for the removal of any Associate, such ground shall be submitted to the Council at a Special Meeting to be summoned for that purpose, of which notice shall be given to the Associate complained of, and in default of his attending such meeting of Council, or giving a satisfactory explanation to the Council, he shall, if a resolution be passed at such meeting, or any adjournment thereof, by two-thirds at least of the members then present for such removal, thereupon cease to be a member of the Association. Provided that no such resolution shall be valid unless nine members of the Council at least (including the Chairman) shall be present when the resolution shall be submitted to the meeting.

LIST OF CONGRESSES.

 Congresses have been already held at

 Under the Presidency of

1844	CANTERBURY	.	.	}	THE LORD A. D. CONYNGHAM, K.C.H., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1845	WINCHESTER	.	.		
1846	GLOUCESTER	.	.		
1847	WARWICK	.	.		
1848	WORCESTER	.	.		
1849	CHESTER	.	.	}	
1850	MANCHESTER & LANCASTER	.	.		J. HEYWOOD, Esq., M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1851	DERBY	.	.		SIR OSWALD MOSLEY, Bt., D.C.L.
1852	NEWARK	.	.		THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE
1853	ROCHESTER	.	.	}	RALPH BERNAL, Esq., M.A.
1854	CHEPSTOW	.	.	}	
1855	ISLE OF WIGHT	.	.	}	THE EARL OF PERTH AND MELFORT
1856	BRIDGWATER AND BATH	.	.	}	
1857	NORWICH	.	.		THE EARL OF ALBEMARLE, F.S.A.
1858	SALISBURY	.	.		THE MARQUESS OF AILESBUURY
1859	NEWBURY	.	.		THE EARL OF CARNARVON, F.S.A.
1860	SHREWSBURY	.	.		BERIAH BOTFIELD, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1861	EXETER	.	.		SIR STAFFORD H. NORTHCOTE, Bt.
1862	LEICESTER	.	.		JOHN LEE, Esq., LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1863	LEEDS	.	.		LORD HOUGHTON, M.A., D.C.L., F.S.A.
1864	IPSWICH	.	.		GEORGE TOMLINE, Esq., M.P., F.S.A.
1865	DURHAM	.	.		THE DUKE OF CLEVELAND
1866	HASTINGS	.	.		THE EARL OF CHICHESTER
1867	LUDLOW	.	.		SIR C. H. ROUSE BUGHTON, Bt.
1868	CIRENCESTER	.	.		THE EARL BATHURST
1869	ST. ALBAN'S	.	.		THE LORD LYTTON
1870	HEREFORD	.	.		CHANDOS WREN HOSKYNs, Esq., M.P.
1871	WEYMOUTH	.	.		SIR W. COLES MEDLICOTT, Bt., D.C.L.
1872	WOLVERHAMPTON	.	.		THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH
1873	SHEFFIELD	.	.		THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, E.M.
1874	BRISTOL	.	.		KIRKMAN D. HODGSON, Esq., M.P.
1875	EVESHAM	.	.		THE MARQUESS OF HERTFORD
1876	BODMIN AND PENZANCE	.	.		THE EARL OF MOUNT-EDGUMBE

Congresses have been already held at	Under the Presidency of
1877 LLANGOLLEN	SIR WATKIN W. WYNN, BART., M.P.
1878 WISBECH	THE EARL OF HARDWICKE
1879 YARMOUTH & NORWICH	THE LORD WAVENEY, F.R.S.
1880 DEVIZES	THE EARL NELSON
1881 GREAT MALVERN	LORD ALWYNE COMPTON, D.D., DEAN OF WORCESTER
1882 PLYMOUTH	THE DUKE OF SOMERSET, K.G.
1883 DOVER	THE EARL GRANVILLE, K.G.
1884 TENBY	THE BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S
1885 BRIGHTON	THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, E.M.
1886 DARLINGTON AND BISHOP AUCKLAND	THE BISHOP OF DURHAM
1887 LIVERPOOL	SIR J. A. PICTON, F.S.A.
1888 GLASGOW	THE MARQUESS OF BUTE, K.T., LL.D.
1889 LINCOLN	THE EARL OF WINCHILSEA AND NOT- TINGHAM
1890 OXFORD	
1891 YORK	THE MARQUESS OF RIPON, K.G.
1892 CARDIFF	THE BISHOP OF LLANDAFF
1893 WINCHESTER	THE EARL OF NORTHERBROOK, G.C.S.I.
1894 MANCHESTER	
1895 STOKE-ON-TRENT	THE DUKE OF SUTHERLAND, K.G.
1896 LONDON AND HOME COUNTIES	COLONEL SIR WALTER WILKIN.
1897 CONWAY	THE LORD MOSTYN.
1898 PETERBOROUGH	THE BISHOP OF PETERBOROUGH.
1899 BUXTON	THE MARQUESS OF GRANBY.
1900 LEICESTER	
1901 NEWCASTLE	THOS. HODGKIN, ESQ., D.C.L., F.S.A.
1902 WESTMINSTER AND HOME COUNTIES	LIEUT.-COLONEL CLIFFORD PROBYN.

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL FOR THE SESSION, 1902-3.

President.

LIEUT.-COLONEL CLIFFORD PROBYN, J.P.

Vice-Presidents.

Ex officio.—THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, K.G., E.M.; THE DUKE OF SUTHERLAND K.G.; THE MARQUESS OF RIPON, K.G., G.C.S.I.; THE MARQUESS OF GRANBY; THE EARL OF MOUNT-EDGUMBE; THE EARL NELSON; THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK, G.C.S.I.; THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF ELY, D.D.; THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF PETERBOROUGH; THE LORD MOSTYN; SIR CHARLES H. ROUSE BOUGHTON, Bart.

WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A.	L. C. GOULD, Esq. CHAS. LYNAM, Esq., F.S.A.
THOMAS BLASHILL, Esq., F.Z.S.	J. S. PHENE, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A., F.G.S., F.R.G.S.
C. H. COMPTON, Esq.	SIR ALBERT WOODS, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., F.S.A. (<i>Garter King of Arms</i>).
WILLIAM HENRY COPE, Esq., F.S.A.	BENJAMIN WINSTONE, Esq., M.D.
SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., D.C.L., LL.D., D.Sc., F.R.S., F.S.A.	

Honorary Treasurer.

WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A., 19, Bloomsbury Sq., W.C.

Sub-Treasurer.

Honorary Secretaries.

GEORGE PATRICK, Esq., A.R.I.B.A.,
1, Gresham Buildings, Basinghall Street, E.C.
REV. H. J. DUKINFIELD ASTLEY, M.A., F.R. Hist. S., F.R.S.L.,
The Vicarage, East Rudham, King's Lynn.

Council.

REV. H. CART, M.A.	REV. W. S. LACH-SZYRMA, M.A.
W. DERHAM, Esq., M.A., LL.M.	RICHARD DUFFA LLOYD, Esq., F.R. Hist. S.
REV. C. H. EVELYN-WHITE, F.S.A.	BASIL C. LAURENCE, Esq., LL.D.
M. LLOYD FERRAR, Esq.	W. J. NICHOLS, Esq.
R. H. FORSTER, Esq.	A. OLIVER, Esq.
RICHARD HORSFALL, Esq.	W. H. RYLANDS, Esq., F.S.A.
ROBERT HOVENDEN, Esq., F.S.A.	R. E. WAX, Esq.
T. CANN HUGHES, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.	C. J. WILLIAMS, Esq.
W. E. HUGHES, Esq.	T. CATO WORSFOLD, Esq., F.R. Hist. S.
S. W. KERSHAW, Esq., F.S.A.	

Auditors.

CECIL T. DAVIS, Esq. | R. H. FORSTER, Esq.

British Archaeological Association.

LIST OF ASSOCIATES.

1903.

*The past-Presidents marked * are permanent Vice-Presidents.*

The letter L denotes Life-Members, and C, Congress Members for the Year.

LIEUT.-COLONEL CLIFFORD PROBYN, J.P.,

PRESIDENT.

Date of Election.

- L. 1857 AMHERST OF HACKNEY, THE RIGHT HON. LORD, F.S.A., Diddington Park, Brandon, Norfolk
- L. 1871 Aldam, William, Esq., Frickley Hall, Doncaster
- L. 1851 Alger, John, Esq.
- L. 1857 Allen, W. E., Esq.
- 1890 American Geographical Society, New York (care of B. F. Stevens, Esq., 4 Trafalgar Square, W.C.)
- 1902 Andrew, W. J., Esq., F.S.A., Cadster House, Whaley Bridge
- 1869 Andrews, Charles, Esq., The Grange, Farnham, Surrey
- 1874 Army and Navy Club, St. James's Square, S.W.
- 1877 Ashby, Thomas, Esq.
- 1894 Astley, the Rev. H. J. Dukinfield, M.A., F.R. Hist. S., F.R.S.L., *Hon. Secretary*, East Rudham, King's Lynn
- 1876 Athenæum Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
- L. 1860 BOUGHTON, SIR CHARLES ROUSE, Bart., *Vice-President*, * Downton Hall, Ludlow
- 1885 Bagster, R., Esq., Paternoster Row, E.C.
- 1884 Baker, Ernest E., Esq., Dunkery, Weston-super-Mare
- 1896 Bailey, T. S., Esq., School Board for London, Victoria Embankment, W.C.
- 1897 Barrett, Frank Ashley, Esq., 36 Bernard Street, Russell Square, W.C.
- C. 1901 Bates, Cadwalader J., Esq., Langley Castle, Northumberland
- L. 1876 Bayly, Robert, Esq., Torr Grove, Plymouth
- 1898 Bennett-Goldney, Francis, Esq., Goodnestone Park, near Dover

- 1879 Bensly, W. T., Esq., LL.D., F.S.A., Diocesan Registry,
Norwich
- 1899 Bentley, Miss, 10D, Oxford and Cambridge Mansions, N.W.
- 1871 Birch, Walter de Gray, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A., British
Museum, and 1, Rutland Park, Willesden Green, N.W.
- 1872 Birmingham Free Libraries, Birmingham
- 1897 Birts, John A., Esq., Westwood House, Welling, Kent
- 1903 Blackett, W. E., Esq., Rosslyn, The Downs, Wimbledon
- L. 1882 Blakiston, The Very Rev. R. Milburn, F.S.A., The Deanery,
Hadleigh, Suffolk
- 1861 Blashill, Thomas, Esq., F.Z.S., *Vice-President*, 29 Tavistock
Square, W.C.
- 1894 Boston Public Library, Boston, Mass., U.S.A., care of Mr.
G. E. Stechert, 2 Star Yard, Carey Street, W.C.
- 1892 Bowen, Rev. David, B.A., Monkton, Pembroke
- L. 1886 Bramley-Moore, Rev. William, 26 Russell Square, W.C.
- 1880 Bravender, Thomas B., Esq., 96 Oakfield Road, Anerley,
S.E.
- L. 1883 Brent, Algernon, Esq., F.R.G.S., 12 Mandeville Place, W.
- 1875 Brent, Francis, Esq., F.S.A., 6 Tothill Avenue, Plymouth
- 1890 Brighton Free Library, care of F. W. Madden, Esq., Church
Street, Brighton
- L. 1875 Brinton, John, Esq., D.L., F.S.A., Moor Hall, Stourport
- 1901 Bristol Museum (care of L. A. Taylor, Esq., Museum and
Reference Library, Bristol)
- 1886 Broad, J., Esq., Ashford
- L. 1874 Brooke, Sir Thomas, Bart., F.S.A., Armitage Bridge,
Huddersfield
- 1856 Brushfield, T. N., Esq., M.D., F.S.A., The Cliff, Budleigh
Salterton, Devon
- 1899 Bryden, W. R., Esq., Buxton, Derbyshire
- 1890 Bull, William, Esq., 75 St. Aubyn's, West Brighton
- 1888 Burnard, Robert, Esq., 3 Hillsborough, Plymouth
- 1881 Bush, Edward, Esq., The Grove, Alveston, R.S.O., Gloucester
- 1881 Bush, John, Esq., 10 St. Augustine's Parade, Bristol
- 1892 Bush, Thomas S., Esq., 20 Camden Crescent, Bath
- L. 1880 Butcher, W. H., Esq.
- 1900 Caine, the Rev. Cæsar, All Saints Vicarage, Ipswich
- 1893 Cardiff, The Free Library
- 1892 Carpenter, Evan, Esq., Coombe Dell, Coombe Road,
Croydon
- 1888 Cart, Rev. Henry, 49 Albert Court, Kensington Gore, W.
- 1901 Cart, H. P. L., Esq., 47 Harold Road, Upper Norwood, S.E.
- 1901 Cheney, Alfred Denton, Esq., 9, Fenchurch Avenue, E.C.
- 1897 Clout, Richd., Esq., Brome House, West Malling, Kent
- L. 1867 Cokayne, George Edw., Esq., F.S.A., *Norroy King of Arms*,
Heralds' College, E.C.
- 1896 Collard, A. O., Esq., 8 Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.
- 1898 Collett, Miss Isabel A., 8 Marlboro' Place, Brighton
- 1893 Collier, Mrs., 6 Chester Square, S.W.

- 1896 Columbia University Library, New York (care of Mr. Stechert, 2 Star Yard, Carey Street, W.C.)
- 1876 Compton, C. H., Esq., *Vice-President*, 11 Royal Avenue, Chelsea, S.W.
- 1896 Cooke, Richard, Esq., The Croft, Detling, Maidstone
- 1863 Cope, Wm. Henry, Esq., F.S.A., *Vice-President*, 12 Gloucester Road, Regent's Park, N.W.
- 1861 Creswell, Rev. Samuel Francis, D.D., F.R.A.S., F.R.G.S., North Repps, S. O., Norfolk
- 1897 Crickmay, G. R., Esq., 6 Keswick Road, East Putney, S.W.
- 1901 Croydon Public Libraries, Town Hall, Croydon
- 1872 Curteis, The Rev. Thos. H., F.S.A., Sevenoaks
-
- 1853 DUCIE, THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, F.R.S., Tortworth Court, Falfield, Gloucestershire
- 1902 DUNHAM, THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF, The Deanery, Durham
- 1901 De Meray, Jules, Esq., 1, Rutland Gate, S.W.
- L. 1874 Derham, W., Esq., M.A., LL.M., 76 Lancaster Gate, W.
- 1891 Detroit Library, care of Mr. B. F. Stevens, 4 Trafalgar Square, W.C.
- 1884 Dix, John W. S., Esq., Hampton Lodge, Durdham Down, Bristol
-
- 1855 EVANS, SIR JOHN, K.C.B., D.C.L., LL.D., D.Sc., F.R.S., F.S.A., *Vice-President*, Hemel Hempstead
- 1893 Elwell, W. R. G., Esq. (care of J. F. Perry, Esq., 3 Downside Road, Clifton, Bristol)
- 1900 Evelyn-White, the Rev. C. H., F.S.A., The Rectory, Rampton, Cambridge
-
- 1899 Farrington, T. B., Esq.
- L. 1890 Ferguson, Professor John, 13 Newton Place, Glasgow, N.B.
- 1898 Ferrar, M. Lloyd, Esq., Little Gidding, East Common, Ealing, W.
- L. 1880 Fisher, S. T., Esq., 1 Melbury Road, Kensington, W.
- 1901 Forrer, Mons. L., Edelweiss, Grove Park, Kent.
- 1900 Forster, R. H., Esq., Artillery Mansions, 75 Victoria Street, S.W.
- L. 1888 Fowler, John, Esq.
- 1900 Freer, Major Wm. Jesse, V.D., F.S.A., Stony-gate, Leicester
- 1900 Frost, F. C., Esq., F.S.I., 5 Regent Street, Teignmouth
- 1880 Fryer, A. C., Esq., Ph.D., M.A., F.S.A., F.C.S., F.I.C., 13 Eaton Crescent, Clifton, Bristol
- 1899 Fyldes, The Rev. Wm., M.A., Hartingdon, Ashbourne
-
- L. 1874 Gainsford, T. R., Esq., Whiteley Wood Hall, Sheffield
- L. 1881 Gibson, Mrs. James, Castle Bree, Cambridge
- 1901 Gibson, J. Patteson, Esq., Hexham

- 1877 Glasgow, The Mitchell Library, 21 Miller Street, Glasgow
 1901 Goddard, A. R., Esq., 2 Cornwall Road, Bedford
 1896 Gould, I. Chalkley, Esq., Traps Hill House, Loughton,
 Essex
- L. 1889 HAWKESBURY, THE RIGHT HON. LORD, Kirkham Abbey, York
 1902 Hall, Geo. A., Esq., 1 Victoria Street, S.W.
 1858 Hammond, Charles E., Esq., Newmarket
 1864 Harker, John, Esq., M.D., Hazel Grove, near Carnforth
 L. 1890 Harnett, Mrs. F. R., Highmoor Vicarage, Henley-on-Thames
 1897 Hart, Mrs. M. O., 13 Clanricarde Gardens, Bayswater, W.
 L. 1891 Harvey, H. Fairfax, Esq., Highcroft, Heavitree, Exeter
 1872 Hellier, Colonel T. B. Shaw, 4th Dragoon Guards (care
 of Messrs. Holt, Laurie, and Co., 17 Whitehall Place,
 S.W.)
 1901 Hick, Miss, 3, Bellegrove Villas, Newcastle-on-Tyne
 1872 Hicklin, B., Esq., 12 Park Crescent, Worthing.
 1901 Hodgkin, Thomas, Esq., D.C.L., F.S.A. (*President*) Barmoor
 Castle, Beal, Northumberland
 1891 Hogg, F. G., Esq., 60 Bedford Gardens, Campden Hill, W.
 1899 Holmes, J. G., Esq., Thorne Lodge, Oakfield Grove, Clifton,
 Bristol
 1898 Horner, Ernest Simms, Esq., 8 Aldgate, E.
 L. 1895 Horniman, F. John, Esq., M.P., F.S.A.Scot., Horniman's
 Museum, Forest Hill, S.E.
 L. 1863 Horsfall, Richard, Esq., Halifax
 1897 Hovenden, Robt., Esq., F.S.A., Heathcote, Park Hill Road,
 Croydon
 L. 1875 Hudd, Alfred E., Esq., F.S.A., 94 Pembroke Road, Clifton,
 Bristol
 1878 Hughes, H. R., Esq., F.S.A., Kimmel Park, Abergale, North
 Wales
 L. 1890 Hughes, T. Cann, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., *Town Clerk*, 78 Church
 Street, Lancaster
 1882 Hughes, W. E., Esq., Essington Villa, 89 Alexandra Road,
 St. John's Wood, N.W.
 1895 Hull, the Public Library
 1853 Hull Subscription Library, Albion Street, Hull
 1896 Hunt, Fred. W., Esq., 21, Upper Hamilton Terrace, N.W.
 L. 1866 Hunter, Edward, Esq.
- 1879 Jenner, Miss Lucy A., Greenwood, Bishop's Waltham
- 1899 Kershaw, S. W., Esq., The Library, Lambeth Palace, S.W.
 1900 Keyser, Charles E., Esq., F.S.A., Aldermaston Court,
 Reading
 L. 1865 Kirchofer, Professor Theodor
 L. 1887 Kitching, John, Esq., Branksome Hall, Darlington

- 1901 LEICESTER, THE RT. HON. THE EARL OF, Holkham, Norfolk
 1875 Lach-Szyrma, Rev. W. S., M.A., The Vicarage, Barkingside, Ilford
 1874 Lacy, C. J., Esq., Basingbourne, Fleet, Hants
 1895 Lambert, Mrs. Chas., 2 Ilchester Gardens, Bayswater, W.
 L. 1891 Larkin, John, Esq., Delrow, Aldenham, Watford
 1892 Lawrence, Basil E., Esq., LL.D., 3 Strathray Gardens, South Hampstead, N.W.
 L. 1881 Lewis, Mrs. S. S., Castle Bree, Cambridge
 1863 Library of the Corporation of London, Guildhall, E.C.
 1898 Lindsay, Wm. Alexander, Esq., K.C., F.S.A., *Windsor Herald*, College of Arms, E.C.
 1887 Lloyd, Richard Duppa, Esq., F.R.Hist.S., 2 Addison Crescent, W.
 1886 Long, Lieut.-Colonel, Woodlands, Congresbury R.S.O.
 L. 1866 Long, Mrs. Caroline
 1865 Lynam, C., Esq., F.S.A., Stoke-upon-Trent
- 1899 MELVILLE, THE RIGHT HON. THE VISCOUNT, Cotterstock Hall, Oundle
 L. 1876 MOUNT-EDGECUMBE, THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, *Vice-President*,* Mount-Edgecumbe, Devonport
 1897 MOSTYN, THE RIGHT HON. THE LORD, *Vice-President*, Mostyn Hall, Holywell, Flintshire
 L. 1874 MAPPIN, SIR F. J., BART., Thornbury, Raunmoor, Sheffield
 L. 1875 Mackeson, E., Esq.
 1897 McMillan, Mrs., 33 Barrington Road, Brixton, S.W.
 1876 Manchester Free Libraries, Manchester
 1898 Maples, Ashley Kilshaw, Esq., Spalding
 L. 1863 Marshall, Arthur, Esq., 13 Belsize Avenue, N.W.
 1896 Marshall, Mrs., 86 Edith Road, West Kensington, W.
 L. 1879 Maude, Rev. Samuel, M.A., The Vicarage, Hockley, Essex
 1897 Mercer, Randall, Esq., Sandling House, Maidstone
 1872 Merriman, Robert William, Esq., Sempringham, Marlborough
 L. 1881 Methold, Frederick J., Esq., F.S.A., Thorne Court, Shimpling, Bury St. Edmund's
 1903 The Hon. Algernon Henry Mills, Maple Durham, Reading
 1899 Millward, Alfred A., Esq., 6 St. George's Terrace, Primrose Hill, N.W.
 L. 1867 Milner, Rev. John, 16 Elgin Road, Addiscombe
 L. 1875 Monev, Walter, Esq., F.S.A., Snelsmore, Newbury
 1881 Montgomery, A. S., Esq., Brentside House, Brentford
 1898 Mottram, James, Esq., 21 Bracondale, Norwich
 L. 1877 Mullings, John, Esq., Cirencester
 1902 Mumford, F. S., Esq., 10 Mountfield Gardens, Tunbridge Wells
- L. 1875 NORFOLK, HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF, E.M., *Vice-President*,* Arundel Castle and 31 St. James's Square, S.W.
 1881 Nathau, Benjamin C., Esq., Lorano, Atkins Road, Clapham Park, S.W.

- 1884 Nesham, Robert, Esq., Utrecht House, Clapham Park, S.W.
 1884 Nichols, W. J., Esq., "Lachine", Chislehurst
 1900 Norris, H. E., Esq., Cirencester
- L. 1889 Oliver, Andrew, Esq., 5 Queen's Gardens, Lancaster Gate, W.
 L. 1881 Oliver, Edmund Ward, Esq., New Place, Lingfield, Surrey
- 1902 Parr, The Rev. Edward R., The Vicarage, Chertsey
 1859 Patrick, George, Esq., *Hon. Secretary*, 1 Gresham Buildings,
 Basinghall Street, E.C.
 1885 Payne, William, Esq., Woodleigh, The Thicket, Southsea
 1866 Peabody Institute, Baltimore, U.S. (care of Mr. E. G. Allen,
 28 Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, W.C.)
 1899 Pears, Mrs. H., Malvern Link, Malvern
 L. 1866 Pemberton, R. L., Esq., Hawthorn Tower, Seaham
 1897 Penfold, John Wornham, Esq., 30 Great George Street,
 S.W.
 1902 Penney, The Rev. James A., M.A., Wispington Vicarage,
 Horncastle
 1893 Penton, E., Esq., F.G.S., 1 Mortimer Street, W., and Bench
 House, Lyndhurst
 1871 Phené, J. S., Esq., LL.D., F.S.A., F.G.S., F.R.G.S., *Vice-*
President, 5 Carlton Terrace, Oakley Street, S.W.
 1886 Phillips, H., Esq., 145 Walworth Road, S.E.
 L. 1883 Pierce, Josiah, Esq. (care of Messrs. Baring Bros., 8 Bishops-
 gate Street Within, E.C.)
 1858 Previté, Joseph W., Esq., Oak Lodge, Pond Road, Black-
 heath, S.E.
 1902 Price-Stretche, T. E., Esq., Heath Lodge, Lennard Road,
 Beckenham
 1867 Prichard, Rev. Hugh, Dinam, Gaerwen, Anglesey
 1883 Probyn, Lieut.-Colonel Clifford, 55 Grosvenor Street, W.
- L. 1863 RIPPON, THE MOST HON. THE MARQUESS OF, K.G., G.C.S.I.,
 9 Chelsea Embankment, S.W.
 L. 1870 Rayson, S., Esq., 32 Sackville Street, Piccadilly, W.
 1899 Reading, The Free Library
 L. 1866 Roe, Charles Fox, Esq., F.S.A., Litchurch, Derby
 L. 1884 Roget, J. L., Esq., 5 Randolph Crescent, Maida Hill, W.
 L. 1878 Roper, William Oliver, Esq., F.S.A., Beechfield, Yealand-
 Conyers, Carnforth
 1903 Rosedale, Rev. H. J., D.D., 13 Ladbroke Gardens, W.
 1877 Rowe, J. Brooking, Esq., F.S.A., Castle Barbican, Plympton
 1877 Russell, Miss, Ashiestiel, Galashiels, N.B.
 1889 Russell, the Rev. James C., D.D., 9 Coates Gardens,
 Edinburgh
 1873 Rylands, W. Harry, Esq., F.S.A., 37 Great Russell Street,
 W.C.

1. 1888 STAIR, THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, K.T., LL.D., Bargamy Castle, Ayrshire
- 1902 Sage, F. G., Esq., The Meadows, Claygate, Surrey
- 1901 Scott, Percy, Esq., 2 Woodhouse Lane, North Finchley, N.
- 1878 Scrivener, A., Esq., The Mount, Endon, S.O., Staffordshire
- 1895 Scull, Miss, 10 Langland Gardens, Frognal, N.W.
- 1899 Scull, W. D., Esq., 10 Langland Gardens, Frognal, N.W.
- 1900 Sharpe, J. Fox, Esq., Langford House, Scarborough
- 1877 Sheraton, H., Esq., 5 Queen's Road, Rock Ferry, Birkenhead
- 1901 Sherborne School Library, care of F. Bennett, Esq., The Parade, Sherborne
- 1902 Shoppee, Herbert, Esq., 22 John Street, Bedford Row, W.C.
- 1903 Sidney, Philip, Esq., Royal Societies Club, St. James' Street, S.W.
- 1876 Simion, L., Esq., Berlin (care of Asher and Co., 13 Bedford Street, Covent Garden, W.C.)
- 1899 Smilter, Chas. J., Esq., Crescent Hotel, Buxton, Derbyshire
- 1878 Smith, Worthington G., Esq., 121 High Street South, Dunstable, Beds.
- 1898 Smith, George H., Esq., J.P., The Gleddings, Halifax
- 1886 Soames, Captain R., Scaldwell, Northampton
- 1900 Southam, Herbert R. H., Esq., F.S.A., Inellan, Shrewsbury
- 1893 Southport Free Library, Southport
- 1899 Spalding Gentlemen's Society, care of H. Stanley Maples, Esq.
- 1902 Stapley, Sir Harry, Bart., 15 Albion Street, Hyde Park, W.
- 1899 Swindells, G. C., Esq., Monks Horton, Hythe, Kent
- 1892 Sykes, Rev. W. Slater, M.A., The Vicarage, Boot, Cumberland
- 1900 TANGYE, SIR RICHARD, Coombe Ridge, Kingston-on-Thames
- 1898 TURNER, SIR LLEWELYN, Parkia, Carnarvon, N. Wales
- 1901 Tarner, Geo. Edward, Esq., 35 High Street, Marylebone, W.
1. 1877 Talbot, C. H., Esq., Lacock Abbey, Chippenham
- 1892 Tiltman, A. Hessel, Esq., F.R.I.B.A., 51 Russell Square, W.C.
- 1891 Touch, George Alexander, Esq., 26 Collingham Gardens, South Kensington, S.W.
- 1875 Trappes-Lomax, Mrs., Clayton Hall, Accrington
- 1874 Take, William Murray, Esq., Saffron Walden, Essex
- 1845 WOODS, SIR ALBERT, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., F.S.A., *Garret King of Arms*, 69 St. George's Road, Warwick Square, S.W.
1. 1873 Wake, Bernard, Esq.
- 1898 Walker, T. J., Esq., M.D., 33 Westgate, Peterborough
- 1901 Walker, Miss, Woodberry, Sydenham Hill, S.E.
- 1881 Walmsley, Gilbert G., Esq., 50 Lord Street, Liverpool
- 1898 Walton, Frank, Esq., M.A., King's College, W.C.
- 1872 Ward, H., Esq., Rodbaston, Penkridge, Staffordshire
- 1898 Watts, Chas. E., Esq., 20 Mercers Road, Tufnell Park, N.

- 1877 Way, R. E., Esq., 56 Mervan Road, Brixton, S.W.
 1902 Webb, E. A., Esq., Cookham Dene, Chislehurst
 1901 Welford, J., Esq., Lyleston, Eton Avenue, Hampstead, N.W.
 1884 Wellby, John H., Esq., 1 Sussex Place, Regent's Park,
 N.W.
 L. 1887 Westlake, N. H. J., Esq., 11 Hamilton Terrace, N.W.
 1902 Wilcock, Arthur, Esq., 19 Bloomsbury Square, W.C.
 1891 Williams, Charles J., Esq., 10 Trump Street, E.C.
 1903 Williams, Rev. Allan, Cape Town, South Africa.
 1884 Winstone, B., Esq., M.D., 53 Russell Square, W.C.
 1901 Winstone, Ernest W., Esq., M.A., 28 Victoria Street, S.W.
 1901 Winstone, Miss, 53 Russell Square, W.C.
 L. 1882 Wolfe, Miss, Jarvis Brook, Sussex
 L. 1881 Wood, C. F., Esq., M.A., 4 Terlingham Gardens, Folkestone
 1885 Wood, Humphrey, Esq., F.S.A., Chatham
 L. 1863 Wood, Richard, Esq.
 L. 1864 Wood, R. H., Esq., F.S.A., F.R.G.S., Belmont, Sidmouth
 1902 Woodhouse, The Rev. R. I., M.A., Merstham, Surrey
 1890 Worsfold, T. Cato, Esq., Addison House, Balham Hill,
 S.W.
 1859 Wyatt, Rev. C. F., M.A., Broughton Rectory, Banbury

 1891 YORK, HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF, D.D., Bishopsthorpe,
 York
 1876 Yorkshire Philosophical Society, York

Local Members of the Council.

BERKSHIRE	W. Money, Esq., F.S.A., Snelsmore, Newbury
CHESHIRE	H. Sheraton, Esq., 40 Rock Lane W., Rock Ferry, Birkenhead.
CORNWALL.....	
DERBYSHIRE	W. R. Bryden, Esq., Buxton.
DEVON	F. Brent, Esq., F.S.A., 6 Tothill Avenue, Plymouth
GLAMORGANSHIRE...	
GLASGOW	{ J. Dalrymple Duncan, Esq., F.S.A., F.S.A.Scot. W. G. Black, Esq., F.S.A.Scot.
GLOUCESTERSHIRE	A. C. Fryer, Esq., Ph.D., M.A., F.S.A., F.C.S., F.I.C., 13 Eaton Crescent, Clifton, Bristol
HAMPSHIRE.....	W. Payne, Esq., Woodleigh, The Thicket, Southsea
KENT	
LANCASHIRE	{ T. Cann Hughes, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., 78 Church Street, Lancaster W. O. Roper, Esq., F.S.A.
NORFOLK	{ The Right Hon. Lord Amherst of Hackney, F.S.A., Diddlington Park, Brandon, Norfolk
NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	
SOMERSETSHIRE ...	E. E. Baker, Esq., F.S.A., Weston-super-Mare
STAFFORDSHIRE ...	C. Lynam, Esq., Stoke-upon-Trent
SURREY	B. Hicklin, Esq., 12 Park Crescent, Worthing
WARWICKSHIRE ...	

List of Honorary Correspondents Past and Present.

Allis, G., Esq., Bail Gate, Lincoln
 Ashurst, F. E., Esq., Todmorden Hall, Lancs.
 Barrett, C. R. B., Esq., M.A., Towyn, Santos Road, Wandsworth
 Beck, E. W., Esq., 10 Constantine Road, N.W.
 Blair, R., Esq., South Shields
 Beloe, E. M., jun., Esq., King's Lynn, Norfolk
 Bodger, J. W., Esq., Cowgate, Peterborough
 Bond, E. A., Esq., C.B., F.S.A., London
 Bradley, Miss E., Lady Warwick's College, Reading
 Brassington, W. Salt, Esq., F.S.A., Shakespeare Memorial, Stratford
 on-Avon
 Brown, Alderman C., The Folly House, Chester
 Chancellor, F., Esq., Chelmsford
 Clarke, A. E., Esq., The Old Market, Wisbech
 Clutterbuck, Rev. R. H., Penton Mewsey Rectory, Andover
 Cole, H. D., Esq.
 Colley-March, Dr. H., F.S.A., Portesham, Dorchester
 Collier, Rev. C. V., Great Ayton, R.S.O., Yorkshire
 Cox, Rev. C. J., LL.D., F.S.A.
 Curtis, J., Esq., Canterbury
 Curtis, T. F., Esq., 67 Frith Street, Soho
 Dack, C., Esq., 4 Nene Villas, Peterborough
 Dallas, James, Esq., Exeter Museum, Exeter
 Davis, Cecil T., Esq., Public Library, Wandsworth, S.W.
 Dawe, Ernest R., Esq., Hatfield Hall, Durham
 Dobson, G. B., Esq., 58 Lincoln's Inn Fields, W.C.
 Donnelly, W. A., Esq., Milton, Bowling, N.B.
 Duke, Rev. T. R. H., Stevington Vicarage, Bedford
 Fairbank, Dr., F.S.A., 59 Warrior Square, St. Leonard's
 Forbes, Dr. J. Russell, Via Della Croce 76, Rome
 Frater, Geo., Esq., The Bank, Wrexham
 Gardner, Alexander, Esq., Paisley
 Hance, E. M., Esq., LL.D., School Board Offices, Liverpool
 Haverfield, F. J., Esq., M.A., F.S.A., Christchurch, Oxford
 Irvine, W. Ferguson, Esq., 13 Rumford Road, Liverpool
 Jones, Isaac Matthews, Esq., City Surveyor, Chester
 Knocker, E. Wollaston, Esq., F.S.A., Castle Hill House, Dover
 Lawrence, G. F., Esq., 55 High Street, Wandsworth, S.W.
 Le Bœuf, Rev. T. H., Crowland Rectory, Lincolnshire
 Macmichael, J. H., Esq.,
 Macdonald, Richard, Esq., Curraghmore, Portlaw, Ireland
 Morris, Rev. Canon Foxley, Witney Rectory, Oxon.
 Nicholson, J. Holme, Esq., M.A., Wilmslow, Cheshire
 Owen, Rev. H. T., Valle Crucis Abbey, Llangollen
 Page, William, Esq., F.S.A., The Whitehouse, Waltham, Essex
 Payne, G., Esq., F.S.A., The Precincts, Rochester
 Peacock, E., Esq., F.S.A., Bottesford Manor, Brigg, Lincolnshire
 Quick, R., Esq., Horniman Museum, Forest Hill, S.E.
 Robinson, F. J., Esq., Gosling's Bank, Fleet Street, E.C.
 Rowbotham, G. H., Esq., 11 Wilbraham Road, Chorlton-cum-Hardy

Sanders, Rev. F., Hoylake, Birkenhead
Saunders, W. H., Esq., High Street, Portsmouth
Swann, Miss, 141 Woodstock Road, Oxford
Sykes, Rev. Slater, The Vicarage, Boot, Cumberland
Walker, Allen S., Esq., 28 Devonshire Hill, Hampstead, N.W.
Williams, F. H., Esq., Chester
Wilkinson, Bristowe, Esq., Lanercost Road, Tulse Hill, S.E.
Wilkinson, J. P., Esq., City Surveyor's Office, Manchester
Winslow, Rev. W. Copeley, D.D.
Wood, J. M., Esq., 113 Balfour Road, Highbury, N.
Wright, W. Abdis, Esq., M.A., Cambridge.
Wright, W. H. K., Esq., The Free Library, Plymouth
Yates, G. C., Esq., F.S.A., Swinton, Manchester

List of Honorary Foreign Members Past and Present.

Arbellot, M. L'Abbé, Limoges
 Ardant, Monsieur Maurice, Limoges
 Boutelou, Don Claudio, Seville
 Bover, Don Joaquin Maria, Minorca
 Brassai, Professor Samuel, Klausenberg, Transylvania
 Brugsch-Bey, H., Gratz
 Cara, Signor Gaetano, Cagliari
 Carrara, Professor, Spalatro
 Cassaqui, Monsieur Poncin, Seraings-sur-Meuse, near Liège
 Cesnola, General Luigi Palma di, New York
 Chalon, M. Rénier, *President of the Royal Numismatic Society of Belgium*,
 Brussels
 Coste, Monsieur, Marseilles
 Courval, Le Vicomte de, au Château de Pinon, near Chavignon
 Dassy, Monsieur, Marseilles
 Delisle, Monsieur Léopold, Hon. F.S.A., Paris
 Delgado, Don Antonio, Madrid
 Durand, Monsieur Antoine, Calais
 Dubosc, Monsieur, St.-Lo, Normandy
 Dupont, Monsieur Gustave, Caen
 Dupont, Monsieur Lecointre, Hon. F.S.A., Poitiers
 Fillon, Monsieur Benjamin, Fontenay-le-Comte
 Forbes, Dr. J. Russell, Via della Croce 76, Rome
 Formaville, Monsieur H. de, Caen
 Gestoso, Señor Don José, Seville
 Habel, Herr Schierstein, Biberich
 Hefner von Alteneck, Herr von, Munich
 Hildebrandt, Herr Hans, Stockholm
 Jones, T. Rupert, Esq., F.R.S.
 Kehelpannala, Mr. J. B. Pohath, Gampola, Ceylon
 Klein, Professor, Mainz
 Köhne, Baron Bernhard, St. Petersburg
 Lenoir, Monsieur Albert, Paris
 Lindenschmidt, Dr. Ludwig, Mainz
 Mowat, Mons. Robert, Paris
 Nilsson, Professor, Lund
 Reichensperger, Monsieur, Trèves
 Richard, Monsieur Ad., Montpellier
 De Rossi, Commendatore, Rome
 Da Silva, Chevalier J., Lisbon
 Spano, The Canon Giovanni, Cagliari
 Stephens, Professor, Copenhagen
 Vassallo, Dr. Cesare, Malta

PUBLICATIONS EXCHANGED WITH:—

- The Society of Antiquaries of London, Burlington House, London, W.
 The Royal Archæological Institute, 20, Hanover Square, W.
 The Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society.—Care of Mr. Bellows, Eastgate, Gloucester
 The Cambridge Antiquarian Society.—Care of T. D. Atkinson, Esq., St. Mary's Passage, Cambridge
 The Derbyshire Archæological and Natural History Society.—Care of P. H. Currey, Esq., Market Place, Derby
 The Essex Archæological Association.—Care of G. F. Beaumont, Esq., Coggeshall, Essex
 East Herts Archæological Society.—Care of W. B. Gerish, Esq., Bishops Stortford
 The Kent Archæological Society, The Museum, Maidstone
 The Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society, The Castle, Taunton
 The Sussex Archæological Society, The Castle, Lewes
 The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, National Museum, Queen Street, Edinburgh
 Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles, 11, Rue Ravenstein, Brussels
 The Society of Antiquaries, The Castle, Newcastle-on-Tyne
 The Wiltshire Archæological Society, Devizes
 The Cambrian Archæological Association, c/o Mr. Clark, 36 Essex Street, Strand, W.C.
 The Powys-land Club, care of T. Simpson Jones, Esq., Gungrog, Welshpool.
 The Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, 6 St. Stephen's Green, Dublin
 The Royal Dublin Society, Kildare Street, Dublin
 The Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., U.S. America
 The Library, Bureau of Ethnology, Washington, D.C., U.S. America
 And sent to—
 The University Libraries (4).—Care of G. W. Eccles, Esq., Rugby Chambers, Chapel Street, W.C.
 The Superintendent, The Copyright Office, British Museum, W.C.
 The Royal Academy of History and Antiquities, National Museum, Stockholm.
 The Royal Societies Club, 63 St. James's Street, S.W.



THE JOURNAL

OF THE

British Archaeological Association.

APRIL, 1903.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL CLIFFORD PROBYN, J.P., L.C.C.

(Read at the Westminster Congress, September 15th, 1902.)



IT behoves me, in the first place, to tender you my warmest thanks for the distinction conferred upon me in electing me to the Chair of this Association in the Coronation Year of His Most Gracious Majesty, King Edward VII. And whilst, in the second place, I bid you hearty welcome to the City of Westminster, of which I have the proud honour of being Chief Magistrate, I am fully sensible of the fact that the Presidency of this learned Association is rather an additional compliment to the office I bear than to myself personally; for, glancing down the illustrious list of those noblemen and gentlemen who have preceded me, and at the list of members of this Association, I feel that I should be but an unworthy occupant of this Chair, were I not Mayor of this City of Westminster. And, indeed, putting one's personality aside for a moment, I make bold to say that no more worthy President of the British Archæological Association in the year of His Majesty's Coronation could be found

than the Mayor of the City of Westminster—the real capital of the British Empire—legislative, administrative, judicial, and executive—teeming with those monuments which it is the business and the pleasure of this Association to study; and, above all, the theatre of that glorious event which, under the merciful dispensation of the Giver of all good things, crowned our King-Emperor in the hearts of a grateful people, rejoicing in the recovery of our Gracious Sovereign from a danger that was one of dread, and adding a deeper meaning and a holier significance to that solemnity which representatives of the whole world gathered to witness within the walls of our venerable Abbey on August 9th, in this Coronation year, 1902.

Since the formation of the British Archæological Association in December of 1843, it has held its Annual Congress at Canterbury, Winchester, Gloucester, Warwick, Worcester, Chester, Exeter, Durham, Hastings, and other places of archæological and historic interest. Apparently, by an extraordinary piece of forethought—upon which the Association and its Secretary cannot be too highly congratulated—Westminster has been reserved for this “Crowning year of grace.” If it be true—and we assume that of course it is so—as expressed in the Charter of King George II to the Society of Antiquaries, that “the study of antiquity and the history of former times has ever been esteemed highly commendable and useful, not only to improve the minds of men, but also to incite them to virtuous and noble actions,” then could any better place be found than this ancient and historic City? It is more ancient than the City of London, as laid down by Sir Walter Besant; for Thorney or Bramble Island, the former name of Westminster, was an important trading centre in British days long before Londinium grew out of the marshes. It is full of those historic monuments and remains whose stones on every hand speak and remind us that the history of Westminster, to be comprehensively written, means the history of our race since the second century. The Abbey, whose first foundations are buried in the mists and the myths of the past; the Roman remains found within our midst; the

Parliament, itself a vast theme ; the site of the Royal Palace of the Saxon and Danish Kings, the favourite residence of the Normans and Plantagenets ; the Woolstaple, where now is Bridge Street, whose mercantile importance is still signified by the woolsack in the House of Lords ; the Whitehall of Tudor and Stuart days ; St. James's Palace of Queen Anne, Dutch William, and the Georges ; Buckingham Palace of Queen Victoria, of revered and glorious memory. Take Westminster, again, as the seat of the ancient *Curia Regis*, of the permanent Law Courts of the land, of the Privy Council, supreme tribunal of appeal over all His Majesty's subjects and dominions beyond the seas. Take the Government offices : all either historic themselves or occupying historic sites. Take our churches : St. Margaret's and St. Martin's, whose archives reflect every change of religious opinion that swayed the monarchy in more troublous days. Put your finger anywhere on the map of Westminster : Soho, the Strand ; Petit France, Charing Cross, and you cover spots boasting a history and an antiquity centuries deep. The interests of Westminster to the archæologist and antiquary are inexhaustible ; and your studies, I venture to think, could not be focussed upon a more fruitful and lucrative field of knowledge.

I have often thought that the great Lord Bacon must have had Westminster in his mind when he wrote in one of his famous Essays :—

“ The things to be seen and observed are the courts of princes ; the courts of justice, where they sit and hear the causes ; the churches, with the monuments which are therein extant ; and so antiquities and ruins, libraries, colleges, houses and gardens of state and pleasure, treasuries of jewels and robes, cabinets and rarities ; and, to conclude, whatsoever is memorable in the place.”

This, I think, justifies me in concluding that, in selecting Westminster, you have made a felicitous selection.

As Mayor of Westminster, I am bound to regard with approbation the increasing attention paid by more learned and erudite men than myself, to the study of ancient memorials of a national and mediæval character, rather than to the exclusive admiration of those more remote remains of the Latins and the Greeks. At one time,

nothing that was not "classical" and foreign was deemed worthy of the attention of the antiquary. I do not desire to raise controversy on the subject; but, this Association being so emphatically the *British* Archæological Association, has taught us that archæological and antiquarian research, like charity, best begins at home: rewarding us with richer and more informative results, involving a more poignant veneration for those who have gone before us, who built better than they knew, and a more intelligent pride and affection for the land we love. In my official capacity I mark with the heartiest approval that particular object of this Association which seeks to preserve, as far as is possible, consistent with the imperative requirements of the living, those ancient monuments that are to be found within our midst. Old houses and historic alleys must, for example, however old and picturesque, give way to improvements such as the Strand, with which I have a great deal to do in my official capacities; but much can be done to preserve from wanton destruction or ignorant neglect those works of ancient times that still exist everywhere throughout this England of ours. I should be wanting in appreciation if I did not mention the work of the London County Council in this respect. I could wish to see the powers of the Ancient Monuments Protection Acts conferred upon the Westminster City Council, so that the Council might be enabled to preserve such a monument, as, for example, the old Roman bath in the Strand, that may perchance be any day swept away by some ruthless speculating builder, after having weathered the dangers of centuries. It shall certainly be my business to impress upon my Council their imperative duty to collect, collate, and catalogue the invaluable muniments and records—many of them almost unknown to the antiquary—of the eleven parishes that constitute our City, to which students could obtain ready access. I consider that such a work would commend itself to this Association as worthy of the City; and, as your President, I should feel it incumbent upon me to impress its importance upon my Council.

Antiquaries present will perhaps give a passing glance at the churchyard opposite this building, when I remind

them that the notorious Colonel Blood, whose attempt to rob the Tower of the Royal Crown has been immortalised by the author of the *Romance of London*, lies buried under the green turf of Christ Church yard, Victoria Street. How many who pass the spot in 'bus, or cab, or on foot, ever give him or Charles II a thought? Blood lived in Bowling Alley, Tufton Street, not five minutes' walk from here. He died after a fortnight's "distemper"—diagnosis, in those days, was not very precise—on August 24th, 1680; and he was decently interred two days after in the Broadway Church yard, as the place was then called. "But," says Cunningham, "dying and being buried were considered by the common people in the light of a new trick on the part of their old friend the Colonel. So the Coroner was sent for, the body taken up, and a jury summoned. There was some difficulty at first in identifying the body. At length, the thumb of the left hand, which in Blood's lifetime was known to be twice its proper size, set the matter everlastingly at rest; and the notorious Colonel was restored to his grave."

The mention of the churchyard opposite reminds me that, as related in the *Civil War Tracts of Lancashire*, this church and yard accommodated some four thousand Scotch prisoners, or "Redshanks," after having been driven like cattle from Worcester field. "For the most part they were very sturdy, surly knaves . . . and might serve for nasty, stinking vassals," says our chronicler. But here, says James Heath, after "being driven like a herd of swine, they were brought through Westminster to Tothill Fields (a sadder spectacle was never seen, except the miserable place of their defeat), and there doled to several merchants and sent to the Barbadoes. The colours taken were likewise hanged up in Westminster Hall, with those taken before at Preston and Dunbar." No less than twelve hundred of these poor fellows—sturdy though they were—succumbed to their rigorous treatment, and were buried in Tothill Fields, now Vincent Square; and the Churchwardens' Accounts show that 30s. were paid for sixty-seven load of soil laid on their graves, whilst £30 was received from the

Council of State for cleansing the church "after the Scottish prisoners had much annoyed and spoiled the same." Livy's woeful exclamation of *Vae Victis* was never more gloomily testified.

I do not think that I can usefully say more. Your interests are so diverse and varied—primæval antiquities, architecture, art, sculpture, heraldry, costume, ecclesiology, topography, the early vicissitudes of the applied sciences in every sphere of human endeavour—that the very catalogue of them would be a tediously inadequate attempt on my part to enumerate the domains of human knowledge. Every student, every observer of ordinary intelligence, acquiesces in the truth that history repeats itself; that events seem to recur in cycles, to remind us that the mainsprings of human action are fundamentally eternal, and eternally the same.

In the fine words of Tennyson :—

"Love thou thy land, with love far-brought
From out the storied past, and used
Within the present, but transfused
Thro' future time by power of thought."

The study of the past becomes, then, a duty, to help solve the riddle of the future, and the historian is exalted into the seer. As Lord Houghton told you at Leeds in 1863 :—"Each of us stands on a point of time with an eternity on either hand. It is the especial privilege of man—and sometimes his penalty—to look before and after, to hope and to observe. Archæology is the study of the positive and material records of the past—the waifs and strays which the ever on-coming ocean of time leaves behind it—fragments from rocks of ages, such as a child might gather on the shore, but which, when studied and handled, assimilated and contrasted by science, can link on one generation of men to the immense distance behind it; and show that, limited as are our faculties and finite our perceptions, we are, nevertheless, endowed with awful powers of construction and discovery."

No better eulogy, then, can be made of the Association than to say that its labours are the true materials for the historian, and that its proceedings are the mines

from which archæologists and antiquaries shall arrive at conclusions affecting historical truths, the end and purpose of all well-applied research.

“The study of antiquities,” says Knox, “is a fruitful source of the pleasures of imagination. That lively faculty of the human mind is greatly delighted with the effort it makes in returning back to past ages, in being intimately conversant with manners and characters totally different from the present, in bringing back to view scenes that have long vanished, and in tracing the progress of human improvements from their embryo state to their comparative maturity.”

In wishing you a happy week of studious relaxation, I would beg of you to forgive the pride of a Westmonasterian in this the classic region of our country, crowded with the memories of more than a thousand years, a city of palaces and pageants, the home of our kings, the cradle of our laws and liberties, the Vallhalla of our mighty dead, where Caxton first set up his press : a City bearing a name and fame revered and honoured throughout the English-speaking world.

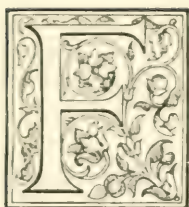




BURIED TREASURE :

SOME TRADITIONS, RECORDS AND FACTS.

BY W. J. ANDREW, ESQ., F.S.A.



FOR ages before the discovery of the art of writing, man was solely dependent upon oral tradition for whatever knowledge of the past or even rudiments of religious or superstitious belief he possessed. The conversational powers of primitive man, in such limited form as they may have existed, would thus be restricted to the recounting of passing events and emotions in his own experience, and the relation, over and over again, of those traditions which had similarly been handed down to him. Hence, by concentration, his mind would develop a perfection of memory far in advance of its more useful powers of invention, construction, and thought for the future; and it may be that our inborn contempt for a falsehood has descended to us from that early period when tradition and accuracy were a synonym. Some of these legends must have been told and re-told from almost the oblivion of time; for, throughout the globe, nearly every race of mankind has preserved a precise tradition of some overwhelming flood of a remotely geological past.¹

Perhaps it was to illustrate his stories that Palæolithic Man carved the pictures of the mammoth and other contemporary animals on pieces of ivory and bone; and, as time went on, and language developed, a natural attempt would be made to present word-pictures to the mind and harmony to the ear, until oral tradition attained its perfection in the poems of Homer. Thus, poetry and song became the cradle of religion, tradition, and history. We

¹ *The Mammoth and the Flood*, by Sir H. H. Howorth, chap. xiv.

find them in the Song of Miriam and in the Psalms of David, in the mythology of the Greeks and Romans, and in the sagas of the Northmen ; in the festivals of the Orientals, and in the war-dance of the savage : for every race of man is subservient to their stirring influences.

Most of our early traditions are therefore preserved to us in rhyme, and, the older they are, the more probable is it that their foundation rests upon truth. Their subjects are varied ; but those which concern us for the moment are limited to the deposit of treasure within our own Isles. That there is nothing racial in the character of such folk-lore is at once apparent from the fact that to four familiar instances which have been verified, each of the four kingdoms contributes its share. They are too well known to require more than a brief reminder of the confidence which such legends warrant, before passing on to the theories of this Paper.

At Buckton Castle—an earthwork following the natural lines of the summit of that hill on the borders of Yorkshire and Cheshire—an ancient tradition tempted the country-people in 1730 to spend days in fruitless search, with pick and shovel, for the missing treasure which lay hidden there. The saw is, as usual, in rhyme ; but as its modern rendering is not in harmony with the traditions of these pages, it needs no repetition here. Since then, accident has twice disclosed some verification of the legend ; for, in the middle of the eighteenth century, a chain of gold beads and ornaments was discovered at the foot of the hill ;¹ and, half a century later, a number of similar gold beads were found close to the camp, and examined by the grandfather of the writer. Ireland supplies the oft-quoted example of the verification of the Celtic ballad of *Moira Borb*, the revised version of which is—

“In earth beside the loud cascade,
The son of Sora’s king we laid,
And on each finger placed a ring
Of gold by mandate of our king.”

Another verse speaks of “plates of pure gold over his breast and back.” This suggested a tumulus at the famous waterfall—the Salmon Leap—at Ballyshannon,

¹ *Archæologia*, vol. v, p. 88.

and a search resulted in the discovery of a skeleton and two plates of pure gold, each about $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter, chased with Celtic ornamentation of probably the eighth or ninth century, and which had doubtless been riveted upon a leather hauberk.

Near Mold, North Wales, was a cairn known as Bryn-yr-Ellylon, which means "The Goblin, or Fairy Mound." As its name implies, it was the subject of ancient superstition, and a spectre "of unusual size, clothed in a coat of gold which shone like the sun," was said to have been seen entering it. In 1833, when the mound was removed, a skeleton was discovered lying beneath a beautifully-wrought piece of highly-ornamented gold, 3 ft. 7 in. long and 8 in. broad in the middle, which has been variously described as a corslet, a shield, and horse-armour.¹ The superstition, however, attached to this mound, can only be explained by some lingering tradition, passed down through a thousand years, of the burial of this remote chieftain in all his splendour.

Scotland's contribution is the instance of Norries Law, a tumulus near Largo, in Fifeshire, where tradition had it that a leader of a great army lay buried in his *silver* armour, and from which, in 1819, was taken a quantity of "curiously-wrought antique silver, including a shield, the silver mountings of a sword, and numerous lozenge-shaped scales of the same metal, which no doubt had been stitched to a leather hauberk."

ROMAN RIBCHESTER.

Two ancient traditions are still told in the old-world town of Ribchester—on the Ribble, eight miles north-east of Preston—one of which is, that its great Roman camp was finally overthrown by the Picts and Scots, and its defenders burnt within it. Recent excavations by Mr. John Garstang have verified this story; for he has discovered a layer of charcoal remains in all quarters of the camp, interspersed with human bones.²

¹ *Archæologia*, vol. xxvi, pp. 422-431.

² "Roman Ribchester," by John Garstang, p. 4, and "The Ribchester Temple," in the current volume of *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Historical Society*.

Then it would be that the so-called helmet, now in the British Museum, was lost or hidden for safety. It is one of the finest specimens of Roman bronze workmanship ever discovered; but, as a helmet, it is impossible, for its wearer would be helpless, and smothered within it. Dr. Whitaker long ago realised this, when he suggested that it might be the head of a statue to Minerva. Tacitus tells us that when the statue of Victory fell at Camulodunum, the head turned round, which is evidence, not only of the custom of erecting such statues in England, but also of the fact that the head was not cast as part of a solid statue. The metal work, therefore, probably covered a wooden figure, and, as a life-sized bronze finger has also been found there, it seems highly probable that the Ribchester relic was the head of the statue of Mars, to whom, as Mr. Garstang has demonstrated, the temple was dedicated. The head is a complete carving of the human face, with ears, eyes, lips, etc., wearing a helmet decorated with battle subjects, and there are rings for its suspension (probably to stay it within the temple), and fastenings to attach it to the body of the statue.

THE CUERDALE HOARD.

The second tradition of Ribchester is famous because of its apparent incomprehensibility. Camden (II, p. 148, in the 1772 edition) quotes it as:—

“It is written upon a wall in Rome

Ribchester was as rich as any town in Christendome.”

If taken literally it is, of course, nonsense, but the improbability of the use of the word “Rome” as a place-name in an old English rhyme should, ere this, have raised a suspicion of its true meaning. This would have become obvious upon comparison with the remarkably similar couplet in a MS. ballad, known as the *Torrent of Portugal*, edited by J. O. Halliwell, 1842, p. 6:—

“Yt ys in the boke of Rome

There was no Knyght of Krystendome,” etc.

In both cases, therefore, the “Wall of Rome” and the “Boke of Rome” mean nothing more than the pages of *romance*, and in the ballad the phrase is so used in no

fewer than nine or ten instances. The *Torrent* is believed by its editor to be a fifteenth-century modernised version of a then ancient English ballad, written from oral recitation. It must be borne in mind that at the date when it will be submitted that this tradition of Ribchester's great wealth originated, the old Roman city was the principal town on the lower length of the River Ribble; hence, when we find that a few miles further down the river there is another tradition with the same meaning, we cannot but infer that both relate to the same matter, and that Ribchester as used above included its surrounding district. The tradition in question is, that if you stood on the headland, at Walton-le-Dale, and looked up the valley of the Ribble *towards Ribchester*, you would gaze over the greatest treasure that England has ever seen. Read together, we have the memory of the loss of a great treasure somewhere in the valley of the Ribble between Walton and Ribchester. But, early in the last century, the locality seems to have been more closely defined; and so firmly was belief in the truth of the legend impressed on the minds of the farmers, that several attempts were made to discover the site: indeed, one of them deeply ploughed a field, almost adjoining the true spot, twice over in the same furrows, in the hope of gaining the prize.¹ Why the farmers had more detailed particulars for their search will appear presently.

Where intention failed, accident succeeded, for in 1840, some labourers whilst repairing the river bank close to Cuerdale Hall, discovered the famous Cuerdale hoard. The actual site was at a distance of forty yards from the river bank, and in full view of the headland at Walton, in almost the direct line when looking towards Ribchester, although that town is itself invisible; the distances as the crow flies being $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile from the former and between 5 and 6 miles from the latter place.

The find consisted of the remains of a leaden chest, containing from 7000 to 10,000 silver coins, and nearly a thousand ounces of silver ingots. It was evidently a Viking treasure, for the bulk of the coins had been issued by

¹ Major Creeke, of Burnley, has kindly assisted in verifying this folk-lore.

Danish kings of Northumbria, whose headquarters were at York, and many of them bore the name of that city as their place of origin. But amongst the Anglo-Saxon money were nearly a thousand specimens of Alfred the Great and about sixty of Edward the Elder, which latter reign was the latest disclosed in the hoard. There was also a considerable quantity of Continental money, evidently gathered from the western coasts of Europe, especially from the districts at the mouth of the Seine. It is therefore quite possible to ascertain the actual date of deposit, almost to a year. Mr. Hawkins, in 1843, "came to the conclusion that this great mass of coins was deposited somewhere about the year 910;"¹ and although in *Silver Coins of England*, he subsequently modified this to about 905, in which he has been followed by the *British Museum Catalogue*, his first deduction was, as we shall see, very nearly correct. It was the custom of the Saxon kings to issue fresh coinages every three or four years, and we know that Edward the Elder issued six: for omitting mere varieties, we have six distinct types representing the twenty-four years of his reign. Hence, as three of these were found at Cuerdale it follows (for a treasure until hidden or lost would be constantly augmented by coins of the most recent issues), that to crowd these three coinages into the first four years of the king's reign, and to deduce the year 905, is absurd. The third type was certainly current at the date of deposit, and so we may take the true date to be between 909 and 912. The hoard tells us a little more. It will be noticed that the proportions of King Alfred's coins to those of Edward the Elder were as nearly a thousand to sixty, and it was no doubt this undue proportion which prompted Mr. Hawkins to reconsider his original date. There can, however, be but one explanation of this, namely: that the Vikings had gathered the bulk of the English portion of the treasure late in the reign of King Alfred, who died in 901; that they had then proceeded to the districts at the mouth of the Seine, where they had levied the large French section of it; and that at the date of deposit they had but very recently returned to

¹ *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. v, p. 46.

England, to add the comparatively few specimens of King Edward the Elder, all of which were current in 909-912. That this is an unbiased assumption may be shown by two quotations from Mr. Hawkins' account of the find, for he, at least, had no theory to prove, and yet he seems to have arrived at the same conclusion through totally different channels of observation: "it may be supposed, then, that the Cuerdale treasure was deposited upon the arrival in the neighbourhood of the party or parties who brought it from a distance";¹ "there is every appearance of this treasure having been collected in the south, and transferred in one mass to the place of its deposit."¹

The remainder and great bulk of the coins consisted of the current money issued under the Danish kings of Northumbria. In this section were two coins bearing the name of a King Halfdan, which, according to a common custom of the time, were imitations of two of the types of Alfred the Great. Nothing proves more clearly the falsity of the supposed date of 905 than the amusing straits and contradictions to which its exponents have been put to explain the presence in the hoard of these two coins. Prior to that year, the only recorded king of the name was the Viking chief who seems to have raided London in 874, and to him they are assigned in *The Silver Coins of England* without comment. But in 1893 a new theory was advanced which, although it recognised that, with the exception of one class, "all the other coins which were struck by or under the influence of Scandinavian conquerors in England, are no more than debased imitations of the current coinage of the country,"² it reversed its own rule in order to accommodate these two coins, one of which, we are told, "is without doubt a coin of Halfdan struck at this period [874] in London;"² and it is suggested that Alfred—of all kings—imitated it for his famous monogrammic coinage of London.² Any explanation of the other, however, which is also assigned to the same Halfdan, is left severely alone, because it is a *half-penny*; and, if it is a coin of that Halfdan, it is the first halfpenny ever known in England. So we are asked to

¹ *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. v, pp. 45 and 98.

² *British Museum Catalogue*, II, cxxiii, xxxiv, and xxxvii.

believe that Alfred selected these two little strangers in the hoard, the assumed inventions of his racial foe, the one for the prototype of his subsequent London coinage, and the other for that of the whole halfpenny series itself. Truly, Halfdan was a great monetary reformer. But, in 1899, the first theory is abandoned, to give place to a second which is worthy of Sir Boyle Roche himself. It is that the penny in question "was probably struck by Halfdan during his occupation of London in 874,"¹ for "the reverse type is similar to that of the London coins of Alfred, of which it may have been a copy," and that the halfpenny "is copied from coins of Alfred, and was probably issued about the same time as the preceding piece."¹ Yet we had just been informed that Burgred and Ceolwulf II were then successively Kings of Mercia, and that London did not come under the dominion of King Alfred until the year 886! After these remarkable achievements, Halfdan, as we are naïvely reminded, "was expelled in 877 and went to Ireland."¹

It was advisable to point out these little errors of date and consequent misappropriation of the two coins, before the theory to account for the actual loss of the Cuerdale treasure could be accepted. But if we now transfer the coins to the King Halfdan II of 911, mentioned below, no miracles or bulls are necessary. He seems to have returned to Northumbria with his Danish fleet in the previous year, and could therefore have been but very recently elected king, hence the scarcity of his coins.

When we remember how rarely coined money was then in demand, and that it was not until two hundred years later that even the King's taxes were paid in specie, we may be quite certain that this was no private hoard, for none but an army or government could at that time have possessed so much current money; and, therefore, taking all the circumstances together, we may safely assume that it was the treasure chest of a Danish army. It may not have been the only chest buried or lost at Cuerdale; but with it alone Ribchester would, in those days, have probably been as rich in *coined* money as any town in England. This treasure had evidently been collected in

¹ *Handbook of the Coins of Great Britain and Ireland*, p. 17.

four sections, and its internal evidence would meet the following propositions for such collection. First, in England late in the reign of Alfred the Great, say 890-97; second, on the coasts of France and in the districts at the mouth of the Seine from 897 to 910; third, in Northumbria in 911 for the expenses of a raid into England; fourth, in Mercia in that year during the raid.

With these points in view, a reference to the chronicles of the period should offer some explanation of the loss of the treasure:—

897. "In this year the (Danish) army went, some to East Anglia, some to Northumbria; and they that were moneyless got themselves ships, and went south over sea to the Seine.¹

910. "And a great fleet came hither from the south, from the Lidwicas [Brittany] and greatly ravaged by the Severn; but they there, afterwards, almost all perished.¹

910. "In this year the Angles and Danes fought at Tettenhall on the viiith of the Ides of August, and the Angles gained the victory.¹

911. "In this year the army in Northumbria broke the peace . . . and harried over the Mercian's land . . . When the King learned that they [the Northumbrians] had gone out to ravage, he sent his force, both from the West Saxons and from the Mercians, and overtook the army when it was returning homewards, and fought against them and put the army to flight, and slew many thousands of them; and there was [were] King Eowils slain and King Hålfdan, and Ottar jarl [the Earl] and Skurfa jarl and Othulf hold [the governor] and Benesing hold and Olaf the Black and Thurferth hold and Osferth "hlytte" [the Collector of the Revenue, or Treasurer] and Guthferth hold and Agmund hold, and Guthferth."¹

The *Saxon Chronicle* is quite clear that there were two battles, and that the one in which the two kings were slain was not that of Tettenhall. Florence of Worcester, and other later chroniclers, confuse the two as one, and call it the battle of Wodnesfeld.² But Wodnesfeld (now Wednesfield) was only another name for Tettenhall, as the two villages in Staffordshire, in which

¹ *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Rolls Series, vol. i, pp. 174, 175, 184, 185 vol. ii, pp. 73, 77, 78.

² *English Historical Society*, 23, pp. 120, 121.

county Florence tells us Tettenhall was, practically adjoin. Any doubts are, however, dispelled by Ethelwerd, who gives the date of Wodnesfeld as being in the ides of August, which, as we have seen, was that of Tettenhall. The latter account adds that the battle commenced as the Danes were withdrawing homewards with their spoil, and passing over a bridge on the eastern bank of the Severn, usually called Cantbridge. Cambridge, near Berkley, in Gloucestershire, is generally accepted for this place, but is far too remote to be connected with the battle. Ethelwerd, alone, tells us that King Hingwar also fell at Wodnesfeld, and Florence mentions that the Kings Eowils and Halfdan were brothers of King Hingwar. The brothers Hingwar and Halfdan are first mentioned under the year 878, but then as merely Danish chiefs. They were possibly sons of the Halfdan of 874-77, as he was a chief as early as in 855, and *his* brothers were Hubba and Iva.

When the Danish army divided in 897, it is probable that the elder, or at least first-named, brother, Hingwar, would return to Northumbria, where he subsequently was elected king; and that Halfdan commanded the fleet which sailed to the Seine. Assuming the Cuerdale chest to be the paymaster's chest of Halfdan's army, it would, in spite of his being described as "money-less," probably contain sufficient of Alfred's coinage to pay current expenses, which would in turn have gradually been changed for, or augmented by, the money current in France during the thirteen following years, whilst that country was the scene of Halfdan's operations. This would account for the large proportion of French coin in the hoard. In 910 the fleet returned from Brittany, and landed its army by the Severn. It was to join forces with his brother Halfdan on his march overland that King Hingwar no doubt advanced from Northumbria into Staffordshire, and suffered defeat at Tettenhall. Whether the two armies had already come together before that battle is immaterial; but Hingwar was slain, and the remnants of the army returned to Northumbria. In the natural order of events, Halfdan would succeed his brother as king in Northumbria, probably at York; and if one may speculate

on so indefinite a subject, Eowils his brother would receive the country north of the river Tyne: for, in 876, Halfdan I had so divided Northumbria into two kingdoms.¹

In 911 the English King was engaged in fitting out an expedition by sea, which was probably intended against Northumbria; so, the Danish Kings, thinking "they could go unopposed whithersoever they wished,"² collected their forces for another raid into Mercia. Then, no doubt it was that the bulk of the money would be drawn from the York treasury for the payment of the troops, and so we find nearly five thousand coins in the hoard, representing the coinage then current in Northumbria. The Danes advanced into Mercia, and "harried the land;" but, on hearing of the forces raised against them, they retreated without offering battle. That the raid was on the western side of England seems certain, for the West Saxons and Mercians were sent against it. All authorities agree that the West Saxons and Mercians "overtook" the Northumbrian army as it was "returning homewards" from Mercia: which expression is wholly inapplicable to the site of Tettenhall and Wednesfield. The Viking force had probably taken the same direction as in the previous year, and its retreat would follow the Roman road which crosses Cheshire and Lancashire to Walton le Dale, and thence branches to York and the North. The expression above quoted would therefore exactly tally with the Northumbrian army being overtaken on the confines of the debatable land between the Ribble and the Mersey, owing to the delay caused by the crossing of the former river into Northumbria proper.

It must be remembered that the burial of this great army chest was an event which could not have been forgotten by those concerned, and therefore only one explanation of its never having been recovered is possible. That explanation must be the sudden death of those who hid it. Surely, the person directly responsible for its safety was Osferth, the treasurer or paymaster, and he

¹ Simeon of Durham, Anno 876.

² *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Anno 911.

was slain in the battle. This is strong evidence of the identification of the treasure with the battle, and it is strengthened by the presence of the two coins of King Halfdan II, also one of the slain. The chronicle of Ethelwerd, as already demonstrated, confused the battles of 910 and 911 as one event, but his description commences as follows:—"They (the Danes) next withdraw homewards, rejoicing in the richness of their spoils, and pass over a bridge in regular order, on the eastern bank of the Severn, which is usually called Cantbrige; the troops of the Mercians and West Angles suddenly meet them in battle array."¹ Without attaching too much importance to modern place-names, it may be pointed out that within a mile of the place of deposit of the treasure, and upon the direct line from the Roman road to the ford at Cuerdale, is Cambridge, where the road crosses the River *Darwen*, at Higher Walton. The Danes when overtaken would defend the crossing of the *Darwen*; and half a mile higher up the river is another ford, a little below the conflux of the Beasting Brook. Here, perhaps, Benesing the Hold was slain, and gave his name to the brook, now corrupted to Beasting. Meanwhile, Osferth the treasurer and his men would hasten forward with their treasure chests to the ford over the Ribble at Cuerdale; for when that was passed they were once more safe in Northumbria—in Amounderness, or Agemundreness according to *Domesday*, the holding of Agmund, who also fell in the battle—where the ancient road on the north side of the river is still called the "Danes' Pad."

Why Osferth should choose this ford instead of that at Walton may have been because he was cut off from the latter, or because the river was in flood, or the tide high, and so he tried the passage higher up the river. The ford is, however, at its best dangerous, and has fallen into disuse, and no doubt he and his men found it impossible to carry the heavy leaden chest with its silver contents across; hence, exactly forty yards from the only place where the river is fordable, the treasure was hidden

¹ *Chronicle of Fabrius Ethelwerd*, by the Rev. J. Stevenson, pp. 437-38.

in the earth. This would again cause delay, and probably the victorious Saxons fell upon them; for unless they could cross the ford they were caught in the centre of a bend in the river, and here Osferth and all those who had buried the chest would perish, and their secret would die with them. If but one had lived to tell the tale, the chest would assuredly have been recovered when possession of the district was regained by the Northumbrians; but under the circumstances here pictured, those who had stayed to defend the rear at the crossing of the Darwen would know that their treasure was hurried away towards the ford at Cuerdale; that it never crossed the river with the remnants of the army; and that their victors never rejoiced over its capture. Therefore, all they could tell was that, in accordance with the custom of their times, it must have been buried somewhere near the Cuerdale ford, on the southern bank of the Ribble, for it would be within their sight until the actual valley was reached. Hence, a tradition which has survived for nearly a thousand years, and some variation of which, probably in referring to a ford, suggested to the farmers of the district the selection of Cuerdale for the abortive search for the long-lost treasure.

On coins of this period the old Northumbrian word *cuninc* (*A.-S. Cyning*), is often used instead of Rex. Is it possible that Cuerdale is a corruption of Cununca-dale—the dale of the *Kings*? But, on the other hand, the name may be derived from Cwyrn-dale = the mill dale, for place-names are often but broken reeds. Nevertheless, where the battle would commence is Cuerden, and the moor which at that time would extend over the field of battle, still bears the remarkable name of “*The Anglezarke*.” Is not this exactly what the Northumbrians would name it—The Angle-saec = The Battle of the *Angles*?

THE BEAWORTH HOARD.

On the 30th of June, 1833, was found in a field known as the “Old Litten,” attached to the Manor House, at Beaworth, near Winchester, a leaden chest containing,

as Mr. P. Carlyon-Britton, our latest authority on the coinage of William I and II, informs us, from 8,000 to 9,000 silver pennies of William the Conqueror.¹ The coins were carefully packed in rolls, and the chest, which originally had been bound with iron, showed every indication of having been made for the express purpose of containing them. The internal evidence disclosed that, although the coinages represented extended over a period of about twelve years, ceasing with the death of the King in 1087, the money was as fresh as when it came from the die. Specimens from the mints of nearly every county in England were present, and all were of full weight and pure silver. Hence we may almost infer that the money came from the Royal Treasury at Winchester, and had consequently passed through the Exchequer tests which were held half yearly at that city. This only would account for the extended sphere of its gathering ground, as the sheriffs brought the currency of every county to the Exchequer; and Malmesbury incidentally mentions that the coin in the Treasury was of the best quality. It must not be forgotten that in Norman times the silver penny was the only denomination of money coined.

Having arrived at some probability that these 8,000 to 9,000 pennies came out of the Winchester Treasury, which was only about six miles away, we have but to refer to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, under the year of King William's death, to find a very natural explanation of their disbursement from the treasury.

"1087. William II went to Winchester and inspected the treasury, and the riches which his father had before gathered; it was not to be estimated by any man how much was there gathered in gold and in silver, and in vessels, and in robes, and in gems, and in many other precious things which are difficult to recount. The King then did as his father had commanded him ere he died: he distributed the treasures, for his father's soul, to every monastery that was in England; to some he gave ten marks of gold and to others *six*."²

¹ *Num. Chron.*, 1902, pp. 218-19. Ruding's *Annals of the Coinage*, I., p. 151.

² *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Rolls Series, 23. I., p. 356.

Presumably the archbishoprics of Canterbury and York received the ten marks, and each of the bishoprics and abbeys the six marks.

Now six marks of gold were 8,640 silver pennies, which would tally with the "eight thousand to nine thousand pennies" found at Beaworth. The See of Winchester as one of the principal bishoprics would receive its share, and certain entries in the *Annals of Winchester*¹ raise more than a suspicion that the treasure was the Conqueror's actual bequest to that church intact.

"1088. On the death of Ralph, Abbot of Winchester, the King assigned the abbey to Ralph Passeflabere [Flambard], his chaplain (1092) But the aforesaid Ralph, a man who exceeded all others in evil, rifled the churches that had been entrusted to him of all their property, and reduced both rich and poor to such a state of penury, that they deemed death itself preferable to life under his despotism."

"1090. The King carried off a large treasure from the Church of Winchester."

1098. Death of Walkelin, Bishop of Winchester. "The King had given orders on the day of the Nativity of Our Lord, just after the commencement of the service of mass, that he should send him without a moment's delay £200. But he, well knowing that he could not do that at the moment, without plundering the poor, or rifling the treasury of the Church, was rendered weary of life by this and other things of the like sort; and having offered up a prayer, begged that he might be delivered from his unhappy existence; and this actually took place ten days afterwards One thing occasioned him exceeding pain, namely, that he had deprived the monks of lands to the value of three hundred pounds [*ad c. c. c. libratas terræ*'], which he had appropriated to himself and his successors in the bishopric."

The spot where the treasure was found is within the curtilage of some ancient foundations. These would mark the site of a—if not *the*—residence of the Bishop of Winchester, for he and his predecessors held the

¹ *Annales de Wintonia, Annales Monastici*, vol. ii, pp. 36-9, or Stevenson's edition, pp. 357-59.

Manor of Beaworth and "a hall,"¹ just as the Bishops of Hereford had their palace at Ledbury. What is more probable than that the Bishop, to save it from the grasp of the extortionate Ralph Flambard, removed the Conqueror's bequest, in a chest made for the purpose, to his own residence outside the town, and buried it in secret: which was the usual precaution for safe-keeping in those days? Probably, in the year 1090, the King demanded "a loan" of the treasure for the purposes of "his great bribes"² to Philip of France in that year, and the Bishop took it into his own custody ostensibly for the King, but with every intention of preserving it for the Church. This would account for the entry in the *Annals* that "the King carried off a large treasure from the Church of Winchester," for so it would be believed by the general body of the clergy and by the writer of the *Annals*. Even the greed of Rufus could not extort a confession of the hiding-place from a Bishop, but it would have fared badly with any less powerful participator in the concealment, so Walkelin would no doubt be the sole custodian of his secret, and it probably died with him. But in 1098 the King's patience was exhausted, and after "other things of the like sort," his orders became peremptory that the Bishop should personally pay £200 without a moment's delay. The claim had perhaps been increased owing to the procrastination of the Bishop, but it is significant that he should pray for death rather than rifle the treasury of the Church. His death was evidently sudden, and he may not have had an opportunity of divulging his secret. Such coincidences as the nature of the treasure and its origin, its quantity and packing, its place and date of deposit, the curious entries in the *Annals*, and lastly, the sudden death of the Bishop, cannot be accidental, but all point to collective identification of the treasure with the Conqueror's bequest to the Church of Winchester.

¹ *Diplomatarium Anglicum Ævi Saxonici*, p. 160. *Ruding's Annals of the Coinage*, I., p. 152.

² *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Anno 1090.

THE NOTTINGHAM HOARD.¹

It is remarkable that a passage in the continuation of Florence of Worcester's *Chronicle*, which seems to record the very incident of the loss of this treasure, should have escaped attention. To quote the account of the discovery. In January, 1880, "some workmen, whilst making excavations at the back of old property in Bridlesmith Gate, Nottingham, for larger cellaring in connection with bonded stores, came upon a hoard of pennies,"² nearly 200 in number, all being of the reign of King Stephen; with the exception of a very few of David, King of Scotland, and some twenty-three of Henry I.

The internal evidence of the hoard is curious. The coins had evidently at some time been subjected to an intense heat, for most of them were blistered and cockled by fire to such an extent that they can be identified in a collector's tray at sight, as the 100 specimens carefully preserved by Mr. G. H. Wallis, F.S.A., in the Castle Museum at Nottingham, will demonstrate. This is a feature peculiar to these coins, for no other find has ever disclosed anything of the kind. As they were found in the heart of the oldest part of the town, and in excavating for cellaring, we may assume that they were originally hidden or deposited in the basement of some then existing building. The date of deposit is ascertained with unusual accuracy, for two or three coins, issued by the Empress Maud during her strife with Stephen for the Crown, were present. One of these was coined at Oxford and another at Winchester; and as it was not until March 3rd, 1141, that she was received into Winchester, and March 30th, into Oxford, the date must have been subsequent to that month. On the other hand, the find contained no specimens of any of the coinages current after December in the same year, so the date is narrowed down to between April and December, 1141.

¹ For a more detailed account of this hoard, see my *Numismatic History of the Reign of Henry I*, pp. 347-49.

Numismatic Chronicle, 1881.

Before quoting the passage from Florence, it may be remarked that the chronicler rarely gives yearly dates, and the incident in question is inserted amongst some events which occurred in 1140. But this is corrected by the *Hexham Chronicle*, which places the event subsequently to the battle of Lincoln (February 2nd, 1141). The references in the continuator's account to there being no force to defend the town, and to the Earl of Warwick, again prove this: for the former is explained by the fact that William Peverell, Stephen's Castellan of Nottingham, had been taken prisoner by Maud's forces at Lincoln, and the latter by the records that the Earl of Warwick did not join her party until the spring of 1141. Hence the Earl of Gloucester must have carried out the raid during the siege of Winchester, on September 8th of that year, which exactly agrees with the numismatic evidence of the date of deposit of the hoard.

"Before the Nativity of St. Mary [8th September] Robert, son of King Henry [the Earl of Gloucester], instigated by Ralph Paynell, taking with him the horsemen of the Earl of Warwick, with those he had brought from Gloucester, and very many private soldiers, suddenly raided the town of Nottingham; and finding no force to defend it, commenced to plunder it, the citizens from all quarters taking refuge in the churches. One of the citizens, who was reputed to be of the wealthier class, was seized, and, being conducted under restraint to his house, was compelled to disclose his money. He, however, led his pillagers, who were only bent on spoil, into an underground chamber [*in subterraneum*] where all his household wealth was to be seen. Whilst they were intent on pillage and breaking open doors and bolts, he cunningly slipped away, and gaining the [upper] rooms [*cameras*], and thence the entrance [*aulam*], closed all the doors behind him, fastening them with bolts; then by setting fire [to his house] he consigned his property and all his household wealth, together with the pillagers themselves, to the flames. It is asserted that more than thirty men who had entered the underground chamber perished in that fire."¹

Comment is scarcely necessary, for a subterranean chamber, even in Nottingham, "the City of Caves," must at that time have been of rare occurrence. "The Gate"—

¹ *Continuatio Chronici Florentii Wigorniensis*, Eng. Hist. Soc., 24, p. 128.

probably the Bridlesmith Gate—is mentioned in the 1130 *Pipe Roll*, and Swein, the Moneyer of Nottingham, lived in it. One wonders whether he was not the hero of the story, for he would certainly be one of the first persons the freebooters would seek, and the terms "*subterraneum*," "*cameras*," and "*aulam*," convey more than the description of a private residence of a citizen. The coins, too, which bear his name—and their proportion was considerable—were, unlike many of the others, as fresh as from the die, and all of the latest coinage.

The fire extended and destroyed the whole of the town; and we are told that nearly all the inhabitants either perished in the flames and the tumult, or were carried into captivity; hence, as Swein's name does not appear on any later coinage, it is probable that he perished, and so no subsequent search was made for his money.

THE COLCHESTER FIND.

In July last, at a depth of 5 ft. 6 ins. below the surface of the premises for the new London and County Bank, in High Street, Colchester, a leaden urn containing about eleven thousand silver pennies was discovered: until a detailed description of the coins is forthcoming, it would be hazardous to found any theory of the cause of their deposit. A small section has, however, been examined for the purposes of this article, and the bulk of the coins were of what is now known as the "Short Cross series," that is, a coinage of silver pennies bearing the legend *Henricus Rex*, which, as Sir John Evans finally demonstrated, was the sole currency in England from the later years of the reign of Henry II, throughout the reigns of Richard I and John, to the year 1248, in the reign of Henry III. Certain details in their workmanship have, however, enabled numismatists to approximately assign them to the kings under whom they were actually struck. There were present specimens of Otto IV of Germany, 1208-12, and of Continental ecclesiastical money of the same date; also, which is of importance, a curiously large proportion of the

pennies of William the Lion of Scotland, 1165-1214. The section contained no coins of his successor, although it does not follow that none such occurred in the bulk of the hoard. If, however, any confidence can be placed in the comparatively few coins examined, the date of deposit of the treasure would clearly be, say, between 1215 and 1225, for an allowance of time must always be made for delays of fresh coinages upon an accession (a custom still in evidence to day), and in the case of the Continental coins, for circulation from a distance. The mints disclosed on the "Short-Cross" series, too, support this date, and a proportion of them which bears the *cross-pommellée* as an ecclesiastical mint-mark of origin, in every instance falls into line with it.

In the early years of the thirteenth century a treasure of eleven thousand pennies would still be more than even a wealthy citizen might be expected to possess in coined money, and the Colchester hoard has, therefore, probably a political significance; but, without venturing upon any final theory to explain the loss, it may be worth while to notice that the following passages would account not only for the remarkable proportion of the coins of William the Lion of Scotland in a treasure buried in a southern town in England, but also for the possible loss of the same under circumstances very similar to those in the Nottingham instance.

1216. "In the month of July the King of Scotland advancing onwards from Carlisle, marched with the whole of his army through the very heart of England as far as Dover, to meet Louis, the son of the King of France; King John all the time looking on in indignation.¹

1216. "About this same time (the siege of Dover by Louis) a party of the barons who were staying at London . . . extorted large ransoms from the towns of Yarmouth, Dunwich, and Ipswich; and then, after collecting booty about Colchester and ravaging the country in like manner, they returned to their old haunts at London.²

¹ *Chronicles of Melrose*, Stevenson, p. 162.

² *Roger of Wendover*, Dr. Giles, Anno 1216.

1216. [Inserted at the end of 1215 ; but the context and the above passage correct the date]. "The Barons, who had remained in London, issued forth with a body of cavalry and laid waste Cambridge . . . traversed the adjacent counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, and plundered the farmers and the citizens of the towns, scarcely sparing the churches, and making themselves masters of everything. They also compelled the towns of Yarmouth, Wich, and Ipswich, and the neighbouring districts, to pay a very heavy ransom. And then returning through Colchester, they ravaged against the inhabitants of that district with similar fury."¹

Should a complete examination of the hoard disclose no real obstacle to the possibility of the above incidents accounting for its deposit, it may be that the hoard represents part of the ransoms referred to, but it is more probable that it was lost under similar circumstances a few years later.

THE TUTBURY HOARD.²

In 1831, in the course of removing a bank in the bed of the river Dove, some thirty yards below the present bridge at Tutbury, a vast quantity of silver pennies, estimated at 20,000, of the reigns of Edward I and II, were discovered.

An explanation of the loss of this treasure has, however, already been given by Mr. Hawkins, in a paper read before the Society of Antiquaries, December 15th, 1831, which is as follows :—

After deducing the date of deposit to some time between the years 1321 and 1329, he continues :

"From the very large number of coins discovered, it is not probable that they were the private property of an individual, accumulated for the supply of the ordinary expenses of his establishment ; but the treasury of the king or some potent nobleman,

¹ *Matthew of Westminster, Yonge, Anno 1215.*

² In my search for historical evidence bearing upon this subject, I was assisted by my friend the late Mr. Frederick Spicer, and I think that I am indebted to him for whatever new light is thrown upon it.

collected to defray the charges of some great public undertaking; or to provide the pay and remunerate the services of some large body of retainers; it was probably the military chest of some extensive armament; and this conjecture seems strengthened by the circumstance of the coins being unaccompanied by any other valuables, or articles of domestic use, which would probably have been the case had the treasure been private property, or purposely buried for temporary concealment.

“The probable time, the locality, and the circumstances, all seem to point to Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, as the proprietor of this treasure. After the Barons, with this powerful noble at their head, had extorted from Edward II a sentence of attainder and perpetual banishment against his favourites and ministers, the Spencers, they disbanded their army and separated to their respective castles. Edward soon afterwards assembled his forces to avenge and punish a personal insult to his Queen; and, as in this the Barons took no part, the King, having his forces on foot, resolved to take his enemies by surprise and defeat them in detail. In this he was successful; but while he was engaged in these operations in the Marches of Wales, the Earl of Lancaster hastily assembled his vassals, summoned his friends, and marched to Gloucester, whence he proceeded to his castle at Tutbury, in order to affect a junction with a reinforcement he expected from Scotland. Hearing that Edward was rapidly advancing against him, he drew out his forces from Tutbury, and marched to Burton, about four miles distant, and placed his army in position on each side of the bridge to obstruct the King’s passage. The river being swollen with late rains ‘there was no means to pass by the fords, whereupon the King was constrained to stay the space of three days,’ at the end of which time the Earl of Surrey was ordered to conduct a small party over a bridge, about three miles from Burton, and fall upon the rear of the Earl of Lancaster’s position while his attention was occupied by an assault upon his front; and at the same time the King, preceded by a strong party under the Earl of Richmond, was to pass a ford at Walton and attack him on the other side. When the Earl found that the King had actually passed the river, his defence of the bridge became of no avail, and he withdrew his troops after setting fire to the town, meaning to give the King battle in the open country: the superiority, however, of the King’s forces left the Earl no other resource than a speedy retreat towards the North, and he fled to Boroughbridge, where he was defeated and made prisoner. Though the circumstance is not mentioned by our general historians, yet William de Pakington, who was Clerk and Treasurer of the Black Prince’s household in Gascony, and therefore had probably good means of information, expressly states that, upon the King having passed the river, the Barons went with the Earl of Lancaster to Tutbury and thence to Pontefract; and

with such expedition was all this effected that the latter left behind him at Burton 'all his vittels and other things,' and the King himself came to Tutbury that same evening. At this time, then, in all probability, these coins became deposited; the Earl of Lancaster did not perhaps take his military chest with him to Burton, and his retreat upon Tutbury might have been in some degree influenced by his wish to pick up his treasure as he passed; but it might also be a movement of necessity, for, if the King placed force enough to prevent the Earl's immediate passage of the bridge at Burton, he would, as soon as the King had passed the Trent at Walton, be hemmed into an angle formed by the conflux of the Trent and Dove, and the passage of this last river would be his only mode of escape. Voluntarily, then—or involuntarily—his route was across the Dove, about the place where these coins were found; and, as his retreat was conducted with such rapidity as to be rather a flight than a retreat, there would not be time to remedy any disaster that might befall his military chest on its passage through the ford; and a disaster might easily occur, as there was not at that time any bridge over the Dove; the banks were soft and marshy, and the floods, which had delayed the King, had not altogether subsided."

Such was the carefully reasoned argument by which Mr. Hawkins identified the Tutbury treasure with the military chest of the Earl of Lancaster, and it is a pleasant task after seventy-one years to be able to offer direct documentary evidence in support of his theory.

"The King with a strong force pursued the said lords as far as the bridge of Burton-upon-Trent; and the Earl of Lancaster with the aforesaid lords moved from Pontefract towards the King, and came to Tutbury, the first day of March. *And on his way he lost much of his stores through a great flood of water.* And on March 7th, the Tuesday before the feast of Saint Gregory, the said Earl went with the said Lords and with his army against the King, and was defeated at the said Burton Bridge, and fled with his men towards Pontefract. And the King took the castle and town of Tutbury, and Sir Roger de Amory, who was opposed to the King was killed there, and was buried in the Priory. . . . And the King held possession of Tutbury *and whatever treasure he found there.*"¹

This confirms the usually accepted version, that in the initial stages the King was at Coventry, and that the

¹ *Livre de Reis de Brittanie, etc.*, Rolls Series, p. 341.

Earl himself, after collecting his forces in Yorkshire, marched south from Doncaster to Tutbury.¹ Consequently, the Dove at Tutbury would be the only river on his way in which he could have lost "his stores through a great flood of water." Nevertheless, reading the two accounts together, it seems more probable that "the vittels and other things" left behind at Burton, and the stores lost in the flood, relate to the same disaster, and that it actually occurred in the retreat, as Mr. Hawkins has surmised.

The repetition of history in the above theories to account for the treasures at Cuerdale and Tutbury is curious. Both were the treasure chests of an army, and, allowing for the depreciation in the value, and consequent increase in the quantity of current money during the intervening four centuries, both were of equal value. In each case an army collected in Lancashire and Yorkshire; whilst attempting to defend the crossing of a river against an English King Edward, was cut off from the Roman road at a ford named *Walton*, and lost its treasure chest in crossing, or attempting to cross, a river in its retreat towards York. In each case also, the English King was successful, and the chiefs of the defeated force slain or subsequently executed.

KING JOHN'S ARMY CHEST.

There is still a vast army chest lying but a few feet below English soil, compared to which all these discoveries pale into insignificance. This is the entire treasury of King John, including the ancient regalia of England, the jewels of the Normans, and perhaps even the crown of Alfred. We know that it was lost in a quicksand, where the old road from Lynn to Swineshead crosses the "Wellestrem," and that a gold coronet was once discovered in the sinking of a well in that neighbourhood. Then the district was half land and half water, but now the retrocession of the sea and the drainage of the Fens ought to have rendered possible a recovery which was once hopeless. That it will be recovered is but the

¹ *Battles and Battlefields in England*, p. 58.

repetition of history; but that no attempt should be made to locate and recover a treasure which, apart from its intrinsic value, would be of priceless worth to the nation and to the whole archæological world, is incomprehensible. Surely the antiquary and the historian, guided by the discovery of the coronet and the records and traditions of the locality, can ascertain the vicinity, and the geologist locate the probable site of the ancient quicksand.



The High Street.
La grande Rue

The High Street.

Porte de la grande Rue
The great Street gate.

64

343

Britan's Burse

The Passage from the water's side
Passage de l'eau de la ville.



The Bishop of Durham's

outer Court, - common
to himself and others as well
as to the Ambassadors.

Auant Court de la maison de
la ville de Durham lachelle de
la ville commune aux autres
quand que de M. l'ambassadeur.

The Inner Court

is the house where the Ambassadors
live and the
outside l'ambassadeur.

The back of the great Hall

Durham House
L'habitation de Durham

The Gate of the Bishop's Court
The B. of Durham's Court
The Bishop's Gate
The Gate of the Bishop's Court
The Gate of the Bishop's Court

Porte de la ville

maison de la ville
St. James
St. James
St. James
St. James

The Gate of the Bishop's Court
The Gate of the Bishop's Court

The Chapel

Durham House
Durham House

The Thames
The River of Thames
The Thames



BRITAIN'S BURSE, OR THE NEW EXCHANGE.

BY T. N. BRUSHFIELD, M.D., F.S.A.

(Read at the Westminster Congress, September 19th. 1902.)



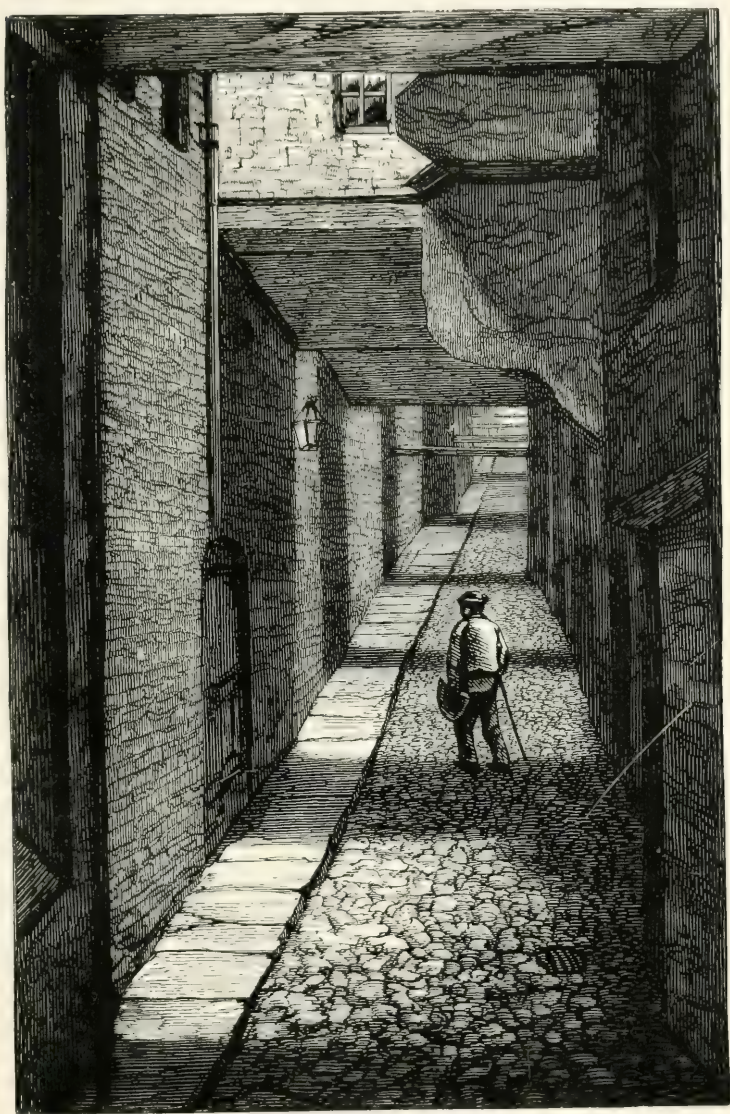
DURHAM HOUSE, London, had been for several centuries the town residence of the successive Bishops of Durham, and it continued in their ownership to the commencement of the sixteenth century, at which period it was in a flourishing condition. It occupied a leading position, and was one of the largest in the long line of mansions or "inns," that extended along the north bank of the Thames, from the Fleet Ditch (then a river) to Westminster. The site of Salisbury House (not built on till the close of the sixteenth century) was on its eastern and York House on its western aspect. The main front of the mansion faced and was immediately adjacent to the river, and, as the customary access to it was by boat, it possessed, like the other waterside residences, a separate landing-place and stairs. The entire site occupied by the house, minor structures, courts and gardens, measured about 500 feet square. At the back, and along the line of the present Strand, stood the stables and outbuildings, a large open space dividing them from the mansion (*vide* plan of 1626, *post.*). The whole site at the present date is fairly represented by the Adelphi Terrace and buildings, near the river border, and by Coutts' Bank and shops adjoining on the Strand boundary; George Court and York Buildings bound it on the west side, the former being shown in a plan contained in Stow's *Survey* (ed. 1720);¹ its eastern limit being Ivy Lane. The last

¹ All other quotations from Stow's great work are taken from the edition of 1633.

named is thus described by Stow: "Ivie Bridge in the high street, which had a way under it, leading to the Thames, the like as sometime had the Strand bridge, is now taken downe, but the lane remaineth as afore, or better, and parteth the Liberty of the Dutchie [of Lancaster], and the Citie of Westminster on that South side" (*Survey of London*, ed. 1633, p. 491). It was a narrow lane, that passed under houses in its steep descent from the Strand to the river (well shown in Mr. Wheatley's "Adelphi and its Site," in *Antiquary*, vol. x (1884), p. 10). As it was often impassable during heavy rains, a foot-bridge was provided at the Strand end, but was removed, probably in the sixteenth century, when the latter was first paved. In very recent times it has been closed to the public, and been made a private approach to the basement offices of the Hotel Cecil, but under what authority is not apparent, more especially as it forms the boundary line of the parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields.

It continued in the undisputed possession of the holders of the Durham See until the reign of Henry VIII, when, by a species of forced exchange, it was surrendered to that monarch, and remained in royal hands up to the accession of Mary, who restored it to the Bishop; but he in turn had to give it back to royalty when Elizabeth succeeded to the throne. In 1584 the Queen gave it to Sir W. Raleigh as his London house, where he remained for twenty years; but, in the first year of his reign, James I wrested it from him and restored it to the See of Durham, then held by Tobie (Tobias) Mathew. On its eastern side, and separated by Ivy Lane, Sir Robert Cecil, the future Earl of Salisbury, built Salisbury House during the closing years of Elizabeth's reign. The house-warming was attended by the Queen in person on December 6th, 1602 (she died in the following March), thus recorded by Nichols: "the Queen dined this day at the Secretary's; where, they say, there is a great variety of Entertainments provided for her, and many rich jewels and presents" (*Progresses of Queen Elizabeth* (1823), vol. iii, pp. 600, 601).

Soon after the Durham See had regained possession of

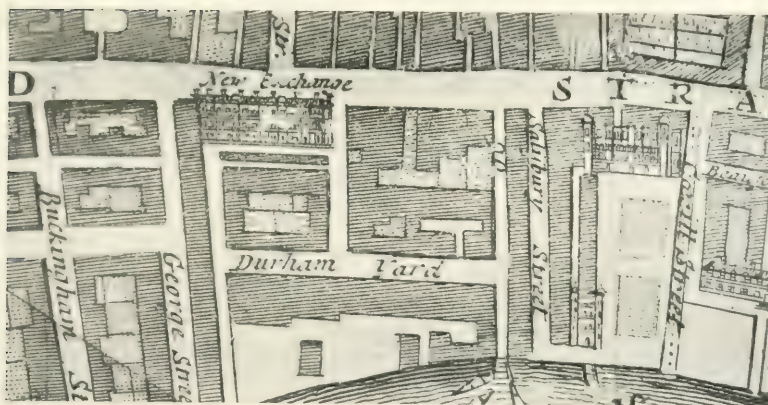


VIEW OF "IVY LANE."



River Front of Durham House, c. 1630.

From a Drawing by Hollar in the Pepysian Library, Cambridge.



Plan of Durham House Estate, showing Britain's Bourse in the N.W. Angle.

From Stowe's Survey, 1720.

the property, Cecil obtained by purchase the ruinous stables and outbuildings belonging to it that abutted on the Strand, upon which he erected "Britain's Bourse," better known to the public generally as "The New Exchange," the fortunes of which it is proposed to describe in the remainder of this paper. It may, however, be stated that the main building continued in the ownership of the Bishops of Durham until the year 1640, when it was bought by the Earl of Pembroke, who died on January 23rd, 1649/50, and his son, about the period of the Restoration, pulled the mansion down and erected ordinary dwellings on its site. These, notes Mr. Wheatley, fell into "a ruinous and disgraceful state," and ultimately, in 1768, the Brothers Adam commenced the range of buildings now known as the Adelphi.

A drawing, by Hollar, of Durham House as it appeared in 1630, is preserved in the Pepysian Library, Cambridge, and much resembles in general character the Savoy Palace in 1650 (engraved by Vertue. *Vide* a reduced facsimile in Loftie's *Memorials of the Savoy* (1878), facing p. 129).

Cecil had probably long entertained the idea of creating a New Exchange to compete with the Royal or Old one, that had been opened in state by Queen Elizabeth in 1571. Edwards (*Life of Raleigh*, vol. ii, p. 267), it is true, deemed it a project "more consonant with Raleigh's mind than with Cecil's," but this is extremely doubtful. Be that as it may, the latter in the early part of James's reign, evinced a strong determination to carry his idea into execution, and in this he was favoured by circumstances.

We must bear in mind that when Raleigh was forced to quit Durham House, in June, 1603, the mass of outbuildings to the north had probably remained in ruins ever since their destruction by fire in 1600, as recorded in a letter from Lady Raleigh to Cecil in October of that year (Edwards, vol. ii, p. 404). As the ruined structures adjoined and were overlooked by the occupants of Salisbury House, they would prove an unsightly object to them; it was, therefore, to Cecil's interest to procure their removal; but this could only be effected by buying

them, and as a favourable opportunity presented itself he speedily took advantage of it. Possibly he hastened to complete the purchase in consequence of a rumour, thus recorded in a letter from Dudley Carleton to J. Chamberlain, dated August 20th, 1606, that "the new Bishop of Durham (W. James) was displeased with the gift of Durham House to the Duke of Lenox" (*Calendar of State Papers, James I*, vol. xxiii, p. 10). This, after all, may have been simply a piece of Court gossip; certain is it that we possess no further information concerning it. The "Cecil Papers" at Hatfield furnish us with some additional particulars: Bishop Mathew's scapegrace son obtained from him "an interest in certain outlying portions of Durham House and its purlieus, which was valuable enough to be purchased by Robert Cecil (by that time Earl of Salisbury), in the year following the Bishop's translation (in 1606) to York, for the sum of 1,200*l*."; and two years later, his successor (W. James), granted him a lease of the "Courtyard of Durham House" (vol. cxx, p. 94; vol. cxxvii, p. 83; quoted by Edwards, vol. ii, pp. 266-67). From this period there were two separate owners of the Durham estate: the mansion and probably the small court in its rear (*vide* Plan of 1626, *post*), possibly also a portion of the garden on the east side, remained in possession of the See; while the out-buildings and the rest of the open court, etc., belonged to Lord Salisbury.

The Earl lost no time in carrying out his scheme, for, according to Stow, "this worke (the outbuildings) was not long in taking down, nor in the erection againe; for the first Stone was laid on the 10th day of Iune, 1608, and also was fully finished in the next ensuing November after" (*Survey*, p. 494). Again, on July 7th, 1608, less than a month after the foundation was laid, J. Chamberlain writes to D. Carleton: "The new Burse at Durham House proceeds apace" (*Calendar of State Papers, James I*, vol. xxxv, p. 13). Cunningham asserts: "The greater portion of the house was converted into the New Exchange" (*Hand-Book for London*, 1849, vol. i, p. 284), but corrects this statement in the next volume (vol. ii, p. 583). Jesse makes a similar mistake (uncorrected). (London, 1871, vol. iii, p. 362).

Cecil had received numerous marks of favour from James I, for the active part he had taken in promoting the latter's accession to the throne. In May, 1605, the King had created him Earl of Salisbury, and on the death of the Lord High Treasurer (the Earl of Dorset), on April 19th, 1608, had appointed him to the vacant office. The King further displayed his appreciation of the Earl's services by attending, with the Queen and Court, at the opening ceremony of the New Exchange, on April 11th, 1609. In this he may have been desirous to follow the example of his illustrious predecessor, Elizabeth, who had performed a similar function for the Royal Exchange, on January 23rd, 1570/1.

Of the ceremony that took place on this occasion, Stow gives the following account :

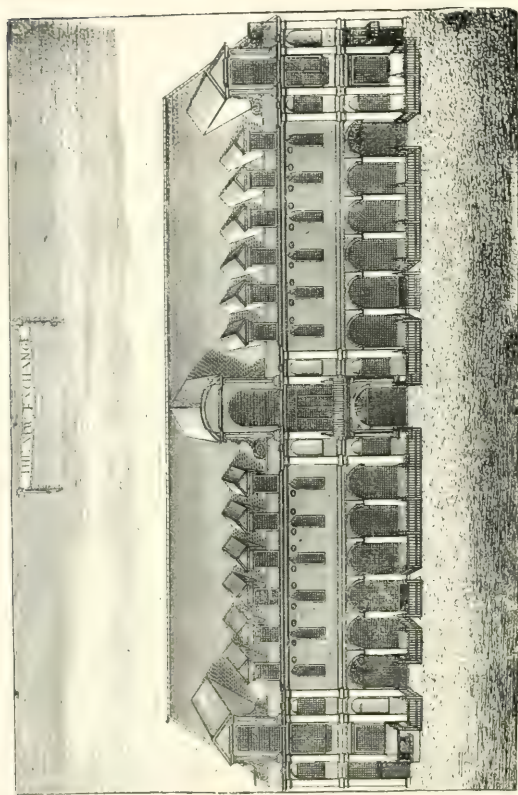
"On Tuesday, being the 10th day of April (1609) . . . divers of the upper shops were adorned in rich and beautiful manner, with wares most curious to please the eye; so ordered against his Majesties coming thither, to give a name to so good a building. On the day following, it pleased his highnesse, with the Queene, prince, the Duke of Yorke, and the Lady Elizabeth to come thither, attended on by many great Lords, and choise Ladies. Concerning their entertainment there, though I was no eye-witnesse thereof, yet I know the ingenuity and mind of the Nobleman to be such, as nothing should want to welcome so great an expectation. And therefore, what variety of devices, pleasing speeches, rich gifts and presents as then flew bountifully abroad, I will rather referre to your imagination, than any way come short of, by an imperfect narration. Only this I adde, that it then pleased his most excellent Majestie, because the worke wanted a name before, to entitle it *Britaines Bursse*, or *Busse*" (pp. 494, 495).

Its position is well defined in a sketch plan made in the year 1626, preserved in the State Paper Office (Dom. Charles I, vol. xxi, p. 64), of which, through the courtesy of the Deputy-Keeper of the Record Office, a facsimile is now given. It was apparently made to assist the enquiry into some tumultuary proceedings that took place on February 26th of that year, at Durham House, then the residence of the French Ambassador, incident to the attempted arrest of some English Roman Catholics, who had attended service in the Ambassador's private chapel there. This plan is referred to in other parts of this

paper as the Plan of 1626. It is of especial value, as being probably the only one known that points out the relative position of the various structures, courts, etc., on the Durham estate at that period.

The building was situated along the western side and parallel to the Strand border, being limited on the east by the Durham gatehouse, "the great street gate," in the plan. Thornbury (*Haunted London*, 1865, p. 100) erroneously describes it as "a long arcade, leading from the Strand to the water stairs," i.e., at right angles to its actual site. This gatehouse is noted in entries in the *State Papers* of 1605 and 1634 (*Calendar of State Papers, James I*, vol. xiii, p. 3; *Charles I*, vol. cclxxiii, p. 3). Commencing at a landing-place and stairs (known as the New Exchange Stairs, and so recorded by Pepys), a straight passage passed by the west wall of Durham House to the rear of the Bourse, from whence it continued at right angles along the length of and to a separate entrance in, the latter, and terminated at the gatehouse, into which it opened, by a small doorway. Of this passage the portion adjoining the new building is still represented by William Street, while the present Durham Street, which it joins, marks the site of the former gatehouse. The outer portion, which extended to the river side, yet remains in its upper part, as far as John Street, under the name of James Street; but the remainder has long been obliterated by erections of various kinds.

According to a contemporary engraving, the building was of the Jacobean style, and without wings. Who the architect was is unknown: if Inigo Jones, it would be at the early part of his career. It consisted of a ground and first floor, with a high roof pierced by a row of small dormer windows that probably lighted an attic storey. The upper floor, larger than the lower, was supported in front by a long arcade, having the entrance in the centre. Below were cellars, access to which was apparently obtained by outside steps in the rear of the main building, near the gatehouse (shown in the Plan of 1626). Each floor was divided into an outer and an inner walk, alley, or "range," all being lined with a series of small shops or "stalls."



THE STRAND FRONT OF BRITAIN'S BURSE, OR THE NEW EXCHANGE.
(Block Lent by Elliot Stock.)

In the collection of prints in the Public Library of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, London, is one taken from some magazine, dated 1773, and entitled "The Unlucky Glance." It displays an alley, with shops on either side. At the end of one, on the left hand, a well-dressed man is lounging, and glancing at a lady opposite, who is purchasing some articles at a milliner's stall. It is lettered in pencil, "Old Exeter Change;" but it closely resembles the walks, etc., of the New Exchange, for which it may probably have been intended.

Stow states that "a very goodly and beautiful building replaced the deformed row of Stabling, . . . a long row of Stables, old, ruinous, ready to fall, and very unsightly, . . . Some shape of the modelling, though not in all respects alike, was after the fashion of the Royall Exchange in London, with Sellers underneath, a walke fairely paved above it, and Rowes of Shops above, as also one beneath, answerable in manner to the other and intended for the like trades and mysteries" (p. 594). Its general arrangements seem to have remained unchanged throughout its duration of nearly one hundred and thirty years.

Illustrations of the building are rare. One from a scarce print will be found in the *Mirror* of November 2nd, 1839, and represents it as a heavy stone structure, as though belonging to the Georgian period. Another, a facsimile of a contemporary print (already alluded to), and headed "The New Exchange," which illustrates a paper by Mr. Wheatley on "The Adelphi and its Site" (first published in *The Antiquary*, vol. ix (1884), pp. 259-264; vol. x, pp. 8-14, 99-102), exhibits one of a lighter and more ornate description; and one of its features tends to corroborate its accuracy. The exterior displays a series of railings along the front of the arcade, and these receive special mention in an Indictment in the year 14 Charles I (1638/9), relating to the case of a man who was pursued "even to the rails of the New Exchange," beyond which he "could not escape without danger of life" (*Middlesex County Records*, vol. iii, p. 69). No rails are shown in the first-named illustration.

A correspondent of *Notes and Queries* (1st Ser., vol. i, p. 451) gives a description of the building, of the goods

sold, etc., stated to be transcribed from the *Queenes Willes*, by L. Rowzee, published in 1632; unfortunately the reference is a wrong one, and the quotation must have been extracted from some other volume, as there is no allusion to the subject in Rowzee's work, which is wholly confined to "the nature and vertues of Tunbridge Water."

There can be no doubt the new structure was intended by Lord Salisbury to act as a powerful rival to the Royal Exchange; indeed, a writer (A. Wilson), who lived 1595-1652, records: "The Lord Treasurer erected out of the rubbish of the old stables of Durham-house, a goodly Fabrick, to be Rival to the Old Exchange" (*History of Great Britain*, 1653, p. 48).

About the period when the foundation-stone of the building was to be laid, the City traders rose in protest against the scheme, and "the Corporation of London tried to induce the powerful Minister to abandon his purpose;" but although he replied in a letter of many honeyed words, he declined to accede to their wishes (Edwards, vol. ii, p. 268; from *Cecil Papers*, vol. cxcv, pp. 26, 30). This correspondence is referred to in the following items, transcribed from the Index to the *Remembrancia*, City of London, 1878, pp. 519, 520):—

"Vol. ii, No. 325. Letter from the Lord Mayor to the Earl of Salisbury, Lord Treasurer, enclosing a Petition from the shopkeepers of the Exchange, concerning a building in course of erection at Durham House in the Strand, which they considered was meant to be employed as a Pawne or Exchange, for the sale of things usually uttered in the Royal Exchange, and which being situated near to Whitehall and in the highway, would be injurious not only to the shopkeepers but to the Citizens at large, and tend to the destruction of trade, and beseeching his Lordship to consider the consequences to the City.—30th June, 1608."

"Vol. ii, No. 355. Letter from Lord Salisbury to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, in reply to Letter No. 325, giving an account of the erecting of the Exchange or Pawne, at Durham House, in the Strand, and the reasons for the building.—20th July, 1608."

Some time prior to the opening, there appears to have been some doubt as to the name the new building was to receive, and there is preserved among the State Papers a

curious skit on this subject, entitled, "An Idle discours about naming the Newe building att Duresm howse;" in which, after a consultation with the godparents and others, who suggest such names as "Clym, Cyrill, Salisbury playne, English rialto," the writer "would have it named Mercuriale, because Mercury is the god of Merchants, &c." This is dated March 9th, 1609, a month prior to the actual day it was opened, and is believed to be in the handwriting of Thomas Wilson (*State Papers, James I*, vol. xlv, p. 46).

The following is the heading of another in the same collection :—

"1609. April 11. 'The Key Keeper.' A comie harangue of welcome to the King and Queen (on their presence at the opening of Britain's Burse), recapitulating the many conjectures that have been made as to the use to which the buildings were likely to be put, the nature of the goods to be sold there, &c." (*Ibid.*, vol. xlv, p. 62).

Wilson, after diplomatic service abroad for some years, returned to England in 1605, and "definitely entered the service of Sir Robert Cecil" (*D. N. B.*). His name occurs frequently in the State Papers in connection with the affairs of the Earl of Salisbury, and the erection of Britain's Burse and of Hatfield House. Of the former he was the first appointed Manager, a position he retained for many years. Soon after being knighted, in 1618, he was "selected for the dishonourable task of worming out of Raleigh sufficient admissions to condemn him": for which purpose he remained in the Tower for one month (*D. N. B.*)

Among the State Papers there is an interesting copy of a lease relating to the Durham property, dated 6 James I (1608/9), whereby the Earl of Salisbury grants :—

"To Thom. Wilson of the Strand all that parcel of grounde lyeinge and beinge on the south side of the new buildinge lately erected and new builte by the Lorde Treasurer where Durham Stables did stande towardes the west ende of the same new buildinge next to the wall which devideth Yorke garden from Durham Yarde containinge eight yardes in length to be accompted from North of the saide new buildinge to south towardes Durham

Howse and Seaven yarden in breadth to be accompted from Easte to West from Durham Yarde towards the said wall which see devideth Yorke garden which saide parcell of grounde now is in the tenure or occupation of the saide Earle of Salisbury."

The said Thomas Wilson further covenants not to erect a building of any kind "within 6 foot right before any of the windows of the said new building or any part of the same, &c." (*State Papers, Domestic, James I*, vol. xl, p. 22).

On October 1st, 1618, Wilson sold this property to William Roo, of London, for £374, and in the deed of conveyance it is thus described :—

"All that Messuage or Tenement with a garden . . . together with one little yard lyinge upon the west syde of Durham Howse : All which premisses are scituate in the parishe of St. Martine in the feildes . . . abuttinge on Brittaines Burse there on the North the garden of the Capital Messuage called Yorke howse on the parte of the west, and on the passage leadinge from Brittaines Burse to the Ryver of Thames on the parte of the East and South" (*Ibid.*, vol. ciii, p. 3).

These extracts show that the plot of ground leased to Wilson for building purposes was on the *West* side of Durham House, and answers to the position of "S^r Robert Cotton's house" in the Plan of 1626. But in this plan "S^r Thomas Wilson's House" appears on the *East* side, so that probably the latter was erected by him after the Earl's death in 1612, and prior to the disposal of his first residence near the York House border. They are of further importance in the identification of boundaries, as well as for pointing out that the strip of ground between the York House border and the Exchange passage was a narrow one (*vide* the Plan of 1720, taken from Stow's work).

A code of regulations to be observed by the shopkeepers, etc., of the new building is of sufficient interest to be printed *in extenso* (*vide* the Appendix). It records a list of trades allowed to be carried on there, and that everything was placed under the supervision of Wilson.

Another code is headed : "Orders set downe by my Lord to bee observed and kept dulye by Mathew Cale

whom his Lop. hath appointed to keepe the water gate of Brittan Bursse and the new office of assignmentes there established." The following are copies of two of them :—

"1. Hee shall open and shute in the said water gate and the dores of the said office duely every morninge and eveninge att such houres as the tyme of the yeere shall require.

"2. Hee shall looke to see the Causie bridg gate and passage from the said water gate to the said Brittan Burse kepte in good order and reparacons att my lords Charge and the walkes boath to the waterside and along the south side of the said Burse to bee kept faire and smouth with rowling the said walkes with a rowler of Stone, etc." (*State Papers, James I*, vol. xlix, p. 4).

Each code is dated November, 1609, and records that the New Exchange stairs, together with the passage of approach to the Exchange itself, were the private property of Lord Salisbury.

Two other State Papers demand notice. The first, entitled: "Projects for Britaynes Burs" (dated November(?) 1609), contains suggestions of "the meanes to make that place flourish," the existing drawbacks being thus enumerated :—

"1. Want of howses to dwell in for the shopkeepers.

"2. The small circuet of inhabitants about for buying, the place being but one street.

"3. The want of stowrage in their shops for their wares, the shops being but as it were small chests rather than shoppes.

"4. The mallice of the confederate Londoners to keep out those that wold come.

"The remedy suggested is to buy 'Duresin House by act of Parliament by composicion first with the bishop to be made a parish the howses & grownde will well make 100 houses which wil be built for 20 *ml*. 200*li*. a house, &c." (*James I*, vol. xlix, p. 6).

This is worthy of a modern company promoter. The plan has been attributed to Wilson, and is of interest for noting the small size of the new shops and of their insufficient accommodation.

The second is a letter from Sir Arthur Gorges to Lord Salisbury, dated March 22nd, 1610/1, from which these extracts are taken :—

"all dutifull acknowledgment and true thanckfullness for yor Noble favour concerninge my Patente for Commerce, which I have nowe under the greate Scale. . . . Wee doe paye his Ma^{tie} a yearely rente. . . . Our first provision must be, for a place, wheare to keepe itt. Brittaines Bursse for the Eminencie and worthynes, would greatlye grace the Office, and the resorte of people (which doubles will be greate to this Publique Register) woulde no less further and profit those that have shoppes by your Lordships permission there, &c." (*State Papers, James I*, vol. lxii, p. 40).

Sir Arthur was a cousin of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and commanded the *Wast Spite* in the Islands Voyage expedition of 1597, of which an account is printed in Purchas's *Pilgrimes*, Bk. x; also well known for his translation of Lucan's *Pharsalia*, and other works. He started the office at the Bursse for carrying out his patent; but the following shows it did not turn out a success:—

"1623. March 24. Declaration by the King of the erection of a public office, wherein those so disposed may register the sale of lands, tenements, and goods, similar to one formerly erected by Sir Art. Gorges and Sir Walter Cope, but relinquished" (*Calendar of State Papers*, vol. cxl, p. 25).

Sir W. Cope was Master of the Wards, and died in 1614, being then in debt to the amount of £27,000.

We can scarcely doubt that the shops of the new building formed a powerful attraction to the public generally for several years, aided, as it must have been, by the *éclat* attending its being opened in State by the King; but its prosperous period commenced from the Restoration. We have to bear in mind that its main object was to compete with the Royal Exchange, the primary intention of whose founder was that it should be a meeting-place for merchants; or, to quote the more lengthy description of Speed in 1611, it was erected in 1571, "for the confluence and commerce of Merchants, whose Traffikes were great, and in these times of peace, extended their Nauigations into the farthest (and till then, vnsearched) parts of the world" (*Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain*, p. 851). The great merchants and shipowners resided in or near the City, usually at or adjacent to their place of business, and only a short distance from the river and its wharves, so that the

position of Gresham's Exchange was to them very convenient. Moreover, no ships could pass above London Bridge, but had to discharge their cargoes at some landings below it, thereby necessitating the extra expense of transshipping into barges for conveyance up the river, if they had to be sold there. Hence it can be understood why Cecil's structure never attained the dignity and importance of a merchant's mart. It was, however, successful as a covered bazaar of small shops, with ample opportunities for visitors to promenade and to do their shopping under shelter. In this respect, and as a rival to the Old Exchange, which possessed a similar arrangement of small traders' shops, it may have surpassed the latter, especially from the period of the Restoration to the close of the seventeenth century.

The great rivalry that existed between the two Exchanges formed a fertile subject for the pens of many versifiers and prose writers. One curious metrical account is contained in a kind of Itinerary, published in 1619, and entitled *Pasquin's Palinodia, and His Progresse to the Tauerne, where, after the Suruey of the Sellar, you are presented with a pleasant pynte of Poeticall Sherry.*

“ And now conceiue vs to be come as farre,
As the perspicuous fabrick of the Burse,
Against which frame, the old Exchange makes warre,
Misdoubting that her trading would be worse
By the erection of that stately front,
Which cryes *what lack ye*, when men looke vpon 't:
But for thy takings, *Gresham*, take no care,
Thou wilt haue doings whilst thou had good ware.

“ Whilst Coaches and Caroaches are i' th' world,
And women take delight to buy fond Bables,
And o're the stones whilst Ladies will be hurld.
For which their horses are still kept i' th' stables,
And whilst thy shops with prettie wenches swarm,
Which for thy custome are a kinde of charme
To idle gallants, thou shalt still be sure
To haue good vtterance for thy furniture.

The Burse of Brittainn left behindē our backe,
We now approach the crosse, yeleaped Charing.”

(Caroache is defined in the *H. E. D.* as “ the 17th-century name of a coach or chariot of a stately or luxurious kind.”)

Another headed "The Burse of Reformation," appeared in *Wit Restored*, published in 1658 (reprinted in *Satirical Songs, etc., on Costume*, ed. F. W. Fairholt, Percy Society, 1849, pp. 160-9, with the following foot-notes:—"Britain's Burse was the name first given by Elizabeth to Gresham's building": (surely an error). It consists of twenty four-line verses, each with a refrain of four lines, of which the first twelve are in praise of the New Exchange, and dispraise of the Old; while the remaining eight favour the latter to the prejudice of the former. The first verse runs thus:—

"We will go no more to the Old Exchange,
There's no good ware at all;
Their bodkins, and their thimbles too,
Went long since to Guildhall.
But we will go to the New Exchange,
Where all things are in fashion;
And we will have it henceforth call'd
The Burse of Reformation.
Come, lads and lasses, what do you lack?
Heare is weare of all prices;
Here's long and short, here's wide and straight;
Here are things of all sizes."

It enumerates a long list of articles sold in the various shops. A short extract from the second part will suffice to show its general character:—

"We will keep our Old Exchange,
Where wealth is still in fashion,
Gold chains and ruffles shall bear the bell,
For all your reformation.

"We walke o're cellars richly fill'd
With spices of each kind,
You have a taverne underneath,
And so you're undermin'd."

The last couplet seems to be confirmed by the following:—

"1630? Sir John Wentworth (?) to Endymion Porter.

'Is over the way, under the Exchange, with a choice of
Canary, and invites Porter to join him.'"

(*Calendar of State Papers, Charles I*, vol. cxxxi, p. 101.)

From several entries in the State Papers, we learn that Endymion Porter lived at a "house over against the New

Exchange in the Strand," so that he had only to cross the street to meet Wentworth.

In the Plan of 1626, steps are shown at the back of the Exchange building (to which allusion has already been made), evidently to the cellar or "taverne" below; and, adjoining it, are these words: "The Alehouse where the priest was taken," during the tumult of February 26th in that year.

Although the following works record Cecil's building in their respective titles, there is an almost entire absence of any reference to it in their texts:—

1. "*News from the New Exchange, or the Commonwealth of Ladies drawn to the Life . . . by Henry Nevill. Printed in the year of Women without Grace.* 1650."

2. "*The Loves of Hero and Leander. A mock poem: With Marginal Notes, and other choice Pieces of Drollery, got by heart, and often repeated by divers witty Gentlemen & Ladies that use to walk in the New Exchange, etc.* [anon]. 1651."

3. "*The New Academy, or, the New Exchange.*" A Comedy by Richard Brome. 1658.

There are some severe comments on the first one in the last will of the Earl of Pembroke (vide *Lord Somers' Tracts*, 1812, vol. vii, p. 91).

On December 20th, 1623, Chamberlain remarks, in a letter to Carleton: "Lady Hatton is said to have bought Britain's Burse for £6,000, and means to make the upper part her dwelling-house; the lower part lets for £320 a-year (*Calendar of State Papers, James I*, vol. clv, p. 67). The transaction was not carried out; otherwise, we might infer the place was not prosperous. However, twenty-five years later, two entries in the *Middlesex County Records* might lead us to a contrary opinion. The first, dated September 30th, 1648, records a petition of "four Scavengers and Raker of the High Street, from Charing Cross to the Savoy;" that, whereas, "in regard of great abundance of Hackney Coaches¹ plying against the Exchange from Covent Garden, which tended to the

¹ Hackney coaches were first employed in London in 1625, by a Captain Bailey, who is believed to be the person who deserted Sir W. Raleigh during his last voyage to Guiana, and was committed to the Tower for his "foul imputations" on his former commander (*Historical MSS. Commission, Second Report*, p. 53.)

great lett of clensing the streetes and fowling thereof;" the Justices had ordered "there should be noe more than 6 coaches at a tyme standing there," under penalty; they complain of such order being disregarded, by "a multitude of 20 or 30 coaches at a tyme" being there, etc. (vol. iii, pp. 100-1).

The second (December 1st, 1648) relates to recognizances taken for the appearance at the next Session of James Thompson "to answer 'for estoping and annoying the King's highway over against the new Exchange in the Strand, by standing with his coach in the streete there to waite for faires.'" Recognizances are also mentioned "for the appearance of six other hackney coachmen . . . to answer for stopping the King's highway at the same place" (*ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 105).

Again, on January 11th, 1654-5, an Order of Council directs that, "to avoid pestering the streets," a limited number of coaches is to stand in each of the places they enumerate: one being, "10 from Savoy to the New Exchange" (*Calendar of State Papers*, vol. xciv, p. 21.)

The following incidents belonging to this period are worth recording here.

On June 12th, 1635, the London Goldsmiths sent a petition to the King, complaining that "the Mercers and the like buy and sell deceitful goldsmiths' wares, especially in the Old and New Exchanges" (*Calendar of State Papers*, vol. ccxc, p. 74): fair evidence that the sale of such articles at the two places was sufficiently great as to affect the trade of the goldsmiths.

On May 4th, 1638, the Council cited, "that over the New Exchange, . . . there are divers families inhabiting as inmates, and that adjoining the wall of the court of Durham House there are sheds employed as eating-rooms and for other uses, to the great annoyance of the inhabitants and danger of infection;" and accordingly directed "their removal; and if they find any of the said persons obstinate, should certify their names" (*Ibid.*, vol. cccxxxix, p. 42). Nothing further is recorded.

(To be continued).



HULNE PRIORY, ALNWICK, NORTHUMBER- LAND.

BY GEO. PATRICK, ESQ., A.R.I.B.A.



THE monastery of the Carmelite or White Friars, established at Hulne, is one of more than ordinary archæological interest, apart from the almost unique position which it occupies and the natural beauty of its surroundings. It possesses all the features of a fortified position, and its remains are exceptionally valuable, because they furnish the only evidence now remaining, in anything like so perfect a condition, of the arrangements and plan of a house of this order. The Carmelites, or "Brethren and Friars of the Blessed Virgin," as they were also called, were one of the four Mendicant Orders, and, according to their own statements, had their beginnings in very ancient times indeed in Palestine. We need not, however, dwell upon their early origin or the fables concerning their foundation; like the Franciscans, or Grey Friars, they seem to have propagated most wonderful fictions respecting their own commencement and subsequent story. They take their name from Mount Carmel, in Palestine, where, early in the thirteenth century, many recluses were living, to whom Albert, Bishop of Vercelli, who was also Patriarch of Constantinople, gave a "rule," about A.D. 1209, founded upon that of St. Basil, but more rigorous. The "rule" required (originally) the friars to remain in their cells meditating day and night, but at proper hours they were to be present in church and cloisters. They were to keep the canonical hours,

and to have all things in common. The sick only were to eat flesh. They were to keep silence after Compline till Prime, but they might talk at other times in moderation. This "rule," according to a writer in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, must be considered to constitute the foundation of the Carmelite Order. Their existence, however, is recognised by Papal Bulls, briefs, and rescripts, of a much earlier time, dating from John V, who died in 686, and succeeding Popes conferred privileges and indulgences upon them. The "rule," as described, consists of sixteen articles; it was confirmed by Pope Honorius III in 1226, and in 1247 was considerably mitigated. The origin of the foundation of this monastery of Hulne is said to be, by all the writers I have consulted, that William de Vesci, Lord of Alnwick, and Sir Richard Grey, when in Palestine visited Mount Carmel, and, to their great surprise, found countrymen of their own dwelling there as eremites; and amongst them one Rodolphus Fresborn, a Northumberland man, whom they prevailed upon, with the Superior's leave, to return to England with them, upon the condition that he should introduce the Carmelite Order into this country. This was about the year 1238. Tradition, which cannot wholly be disregarded, relates that the selection of the site for this monastery was due to a fancied resemblance which the founders considered it bore to Mount Carmel and the river Kishon, with a forest beside it. Here we still have the bold hill and the forest, and the river Alne flowing beneath it on the south. William de Vesci gave a grant of some twelve or thirteen acres in his park of Hulne, and Rodolphus Fresborn is said to have erected the buildings. Independently of the real or imaginary resemblance to Mount Carmel, it is probable the site commended itself to the warrior founders owing to its capabilities of defence; for, in the rough days of Border warfare, the raiders of both sides but little regarded even sacred edifices with respect. The foundation of this monastery, therefore, dates from about 1240. Fresborn became the first Prior; he was a learned man, and wrote several theological works. He died, says Dugdale, about 1274, and was buried in the monastery. In the year

1777 was found, just within the door of the chapter-house, a skeleton in a very perfect state of preservation, possibly the remains of the first prior—for priors and abbots were buried in the chapter-house. This house is considered to be the earliest English house of the Carmelites, or White Friars, who must not be confused with the Reformed Carmelites of about 1451, nor with the still later Barefooted Carmelites founded by St. Teresa about 1562. The first General Chapter of the Order was held at Aylesford in Kent, 1245. They possessed altogether, according to Dugdale, fifty houses in England. Mrs. Jameson, in her work, *Legends of the Monastic Orders*, says the Carmelites became more numerous and popular in England than in any other country in Europe; but they were not an influential Order, nor conspicuous in art. Filippo Lippi, however, an Italian painter, 1400-1469, famous in his day, was a monk in the Carmelite monastery at Florence.

Amongst the *Harleian MSS.*, No. 3897 in the British Museum, is a small vellum register of the charters granted to this house, which is extremely interesting, and from which much valuable information may be obtained. There are some twenty-five charters in all, according to a footnote given in *Dugdale* (Ellis's edition); also a list of the books in the Friary library, some having the names of the donors appended, together with a schedule of the ecclesiastical vestments used in the church services. The first charter is one from John de Vesci, confirming his father's grant of the land at Hulne; and he gives the friars in addition wood for housing and making lime, and for making charcoal to burn in the church and monastery during winter; he also gives the right of fishing in the river Alne, digging for stone, wood for a cart and for household implements, a mill, pasture for six oxen, two horses, and two asses. For the support of the lights for the church he gives all the wild honey and wax found in Walshow and Hulne; he also gives rushes and brooms. All these grants were confirmed in the presence of the Abbot of Alnwick and many witnesses. The Abbots of Alnwick, however, were not always so complacent, and there appears instances of oppression on their part in

seizing the wax and the oblations, which grievance had to be remedied by a formal deed made in 1355. William de Vesci, the brother of this John, not only confirmed all the previous grants, but added a money payment of 12 marks per annum, which he subsequently raised to 20, derived from the farm of his mills at Alnwick, and King Edward I ratified it, with all the other grants, when he was at Berwick in 1276. One Walter de Witthil gave the friars half a mark annually, and a Thomas Herzing, of Howick, gave 20s. towards supporting the ornaments of the church in 1336; and this was confirmed by Edward III in 1339. John de Clifford, in 1347, gave a quarter of corn and two of oats annually, and the Lord of Alnwick followed the example of his forefathers and confirmed all. There seems to be little known of the early history of the Priory, and I have met with no notice of any attack or outrage upon it, such as was common enough in the Border warfare of those days.

Turning now to the remains of the church and the monastic buildings, there are several problems I have not yet been able to solve. The unusual thickening of the north wall of the church, about the middle of its length, is one. The late Prebendary Walcott speaks of a Lady Chapel on that side. There are the foundations of a wall at right angles to the north wall, and it may be that they represent a north porch to the church and entrance to the Lady Chapel. There must have been some reason for the curious projection in this wall. There does not appear to have been any west door to the church, and it would have been necessary for the lay people to have a means of entrance to the nave; the friars, of course, would enter the church from the cloister door on the south side.

The stone bench against the wall for the use of the lay members in part remains at the west end and on the south side of the nave. The church had no structural division; it consisted of one long narrow nave and choir, as was usual with this Order, and the rood-loft, which no doubt existed, and divided the choir from the nave, must have been formed of wood and approached by wooden

stairs from the choir. We have only foundation walls on the north side remaining, so that any explanation of features must be largely conjectural. In searching for information at the British Museum, I found in Grose's *Antiquities* an account of the buildings of this monastery as they existed in 1567, which, if it could be depended upon, would be most valuable; but, unfortunately, the writer so confuses the points of the compass that it is almost impossible to follow him. I have tried to locate the several buildings as described in this account, but without much success. The writer was a kind of surveyor, or factotum, to the Earl of Northumberland, and it is what we should now call a "schedule of dilapidations." Apparently the buildings, after the dissolution of the monastery, had been neglected and allowed to get much into disrepair, and this "Survey," as it is called, was made because the Earl thought of residing in them. The architecture of the church and buildings was of plain and simple character, in keeping with the fortress-like appearance of the monastery. The west end has one long lancet window, with a vesica-shaped window in the gable. On the south side the nave was lighted by three single-light trefoil-headed windows, high up in the wall on account of the cloister roof outside. The inner or escoinson arches of these windows are delicately cusped, and, presumably, those on the south side were similarly treated, but no remains other than the foundations remain on this side. The choir was lighted on the south side by two large windows, now mutilated, but, when perfect, having each two plain Pointed lights, with a simple chamfered circle in the heads. The sill of the east window alone remains; it was probably a triplet of plain lancet lights. On the south side of the choir there are still the remains of the graceful Early English sedilia of three stepped bays, and just to the eastward of it a piscina of the same date. Passing from the remains of the church, we enter through a plain Pointed and chamfered doorway into a large sacristy, where are some interesting features. In the east wall still remain the two stone corbels which supported the altar-slab; on the left hand, or north side, is a square aumbry, and there are two

small narrow square-headed windows over the altar. On the south side is a plain Pointed and chamfered piscina and a widely splayed square-headed window, and between it and the door in the west wall is what the late Prebendary Walcott called an oven, which is considered to have been used for baking the sacred wafer. The sacristy had an upper chamber, with a fireplace, and a window looking into the church. It was for the use of the sacristan, or his deputy, in watching the church at night, and must have been approached by a wooden stair from the chamber below. The east gable of this upper room has a single lancet window, and on the north side the window looking into the church is square-headed and transomed. The chapter-house is a fine apartment, lighted by four single trefoil-headed windows in the south wall, and the remains of a similar window on the north, and a wide window opening at the east, from which all worked stone has disappeared. The foundations of the priors' seat remain, and the stone benches round the walls. In the plan which illustrates a short description of this Priory in the the *Institute Journal* for 1852, this apartment is called the refectory, and the chapter-house is placed in the north-west angle of the cloisters. Such an arrangement must, I think, be a mistake, as the chapter-house was, I believe, invariably situated at the east side of the cloister. The chapter-house was entered from a vestibule or lobby opening into the east walk of the cloisters; on the north side of this vestibule was a small parlour, with fireplace, and window, and on the south side another apartment, having a large recess for a fireplace, with a window on either side, also in the east wall. This was probably the calefactory. Beyond this apartment, but at right angles to it, is another with fireplace and aumbry, or locker, for books and writing materials, which I think was the scriptorium. Over the whole length of these chambers extended the dormitory, and the lowest steps of the circular staircase—rather a wide one—remain in the north-east angle, close to the door opening into the cloister and thence into the church. I have not been able to discover how many friars there were at Hulne, but by taking the dimensions of the

dormitory I get space for seven cubicles, each 8 ft. 6 ins. long, and, if we consider them as 5 ft. 6 ins. in width, we get a passage-way of 4 ft. on the east side. The Carmelites had separate cells, or cubicles, each with a door, partly of trellis, so that the prior, or sub-prior could overlook them. Each of these cells, or cubicles, would have a window overlooking the cloister, before which would be a little desk, the beds lying along the same side. The late Mr. Walcott and others say that the number of friars at Newcastle was seven, so my calculation from the dimensions appears fairly reasonable. The west side of the cloister enclosure, from what I have been able to glean from the "Survey" of 1567, previously mentioned, was also of two stories, the lower one being occupied by stores and offices appertaining to the cellarer, who usually occupied this position, and had a hall, probably on the site of the present dwelling-house. He was an important officer of the monastery, and had many duties to fulfil. The upper story on this west side must, I think, have been devoted to the prior's lodgings, and there seems to have been a communicating passage with the massive tower built in 1488. The space between this tower and the cloisters is called (upon the plan in Grose) "The Study House." This plan was made in 1766, and the various references given upon it were obtained, so far as they could be identified from the "Survey" of 1567. The refectory was, as usual, upon the south side, and in part remains. The cloister walks, or alleys, enclosing the Garth, were of wood upon a low dwarf wall. They were covered with lead, while other buildings were roofed with slate. The stone corbels which supported the timbers of the lean-to roof in some places still remain. The windows were glazed (but not earlier than the fifteenth century), and in 1567 some fragments of glass still remained. The kitchen, buttery, pastry-house, and other domestic offices adjoined the refectory, and the foundation walls may be seen level with the ground, and are indicated on the accompanying plan. Over the apartment I designate the scriptorium, was a chamber which I assign to the sub-prior, as it opens to the dormitory, and, by a passage, to the necessarium, which is over

a water-course, now dry. There were other chambers connected with the cloisters, such as the muniment room (but sometimes this was over the sacristy), and the library, perhaps the so-called "Study House," answered this purpose here. The Carmelites were very



careful of their books, to preserve them from dust and damp. The treasury also was in the cloister; but it is now almost impossible to assign to each office its relative position. The Cloister-garth was used by the Carmelites for interments, according to Prebendary Walcott, but was kept green and bright with grass and flowers. Of

the other buildings of the monastery, the guest-house and chapel remain comparatively intact, and are now used as a dwelling-house. They are situated to the south of the refectory, and near to the entrance gate, which is in a tower upon the curtain wall. The infirmary, with its small cloister, seems to have been situated to the south-westward of the kitchen. Remains of walls of other buildings are met with in all directions to the south and west, some of which may, perhaps, be identified from the "schedule" of 1567. For instance, the writer mentions a kitchen "built most like a square tower with a round roof, covered with slate;" and says, "in the same kitchen two chimnies with fair ranges, one over-dresser, and a little house for pastry. In the west end of the said house is a cistern of stone let in the ground, which receives the water by pipes of lead from the conduit for serving the kitchen." There were several kitchens attached to a convent, and one may very probably have been close to the entrance gate, and near the guest-hall of inferior guests and servants' hall.

The massive detached tower at the west was erected as a place of refuge in 1488; and, from the accounts which have been preserved, it appears that the total of its erection, in the money of the time, was only £27 19s. 8d.

The enclosing wall of the monastery remains in very perfect condition, together with the stone steps by which the "alure," or walk, on the top, behind the parapets, was approached. It was embattled, and had circular turrets at the several angles, the remains of which, in some cases, are still very perfect.

In the gateway tower in the curtain wall, on the south-east, was situated the porter's lodge, and the almonry would probably be near to it. I should mention that, in the church, now resting upright in one of the sedilia, are the remains of a beautiful piece of thirteenth-century sculpture, being the effigy of an ecclesiastic on a coffin slab; it has lost the head, unfortunately, otherwise it is in almost perfect condition. There are also some early gravestones lying on the grass in the nave, one having an incised cross upon it; but they are probably not in their original positions.

In the south wall of the refectory, the position of the pulpit, from which it was customary to read portions of Scripture or passages from the lives of the Saints at meal-times, may still be clearly seen ; and eastward of the pulpit, on the same side, the remains of what appears to have been a large fireplace. For three hundred years the brethren dwelt in their secluded home, seemingly but little disturbed by the turmoil of border strife or foray, until the day of Dissolution arrived and they were scattered. Their annual income at the Dissolution, according to Fuller, amounted to £194 7s. The site, the buildings, and the lands were bestowed upon, or were purchased by, other owners, and eventually were possessed by the Dukes of Northumberland, in whose ownership they still remain.





SOME FURTHER NOTES ON THE LANGBANK CRANNOG.

BY REV. H. J. DUKINFIELD ASTLEY, M.A., F.R.HIST.S., ETC.



OME might be disposed to say : "Have we not had enough of these Clyde Crannogs? After all, they concern the Scotch archæologists more than they do us, and we might well leave them to fight out the battle for themselves." But I think this would be taking a narrow, parochial view of the subject. We are the *British* Archæological Association, and it behoves us, each one, to prove unceasingly "*Nihil a me Britannicum alienum puto.*" Moreover, the problems embraced, as they involve far-reaching questions on the condition of Early Man in this island, are of importance to all *British* Archæologists.

The controversies engaged in over the now celebrated Dumbuck Crannog have been renewed with almost equal vigour over Mr. Bruce's later discovery of the Langbank Crannog, on the opposite side of the river Clyde. A certain school, which I suppose would call itself "orthodox," is just as keen on impugning the genuineness of certain "finds" at Langbank as it was in disputing the genuineness of similar, though more numerous, "finds" at Dumbuck, and with just as much—or as little—reason; and the discoverer, though as unflinching as the discoverer of Dumbuck in maintaining the absolute genuineness of the finds, *i.e.*, that they were found as, and where, stated, shrinks from expressing any opinion as to their significance. It will be remembered that

Mr. Bruce gave an account before this Association, in 1901, of his discovery at Langbank, and placed upon the table numerous specimens of the "finds," including the bones of many animals, implements, spear-heads, and a very curious and interesting "late-Celtic" comb, the latter being subsequently figured in our *Journal*. The bones were afterwards analysed by Dr. Bryce, a Scotch anthropologist, and were found to include specimens of the *Bos longifrons*,¹ the Red Deer, an early small-limbed sheep, and other animals. That the presence of the bones of the Shorthorn (*Bos longifrons*) and of the small-limbed sheep bespeaks *early* habitation and not *medieval* (!), may be inferred from the following remarks of Professor Boyd Dawkins, the greatest living authority on anthropology. He is speaking of the animal remains found in the sepulchral cave at Gop, near Prestatyn, North Wales, in 1886 and 1887, and after describing them he says:—

"The remains of the domestic were greatly in excess of those of the wild animals, and the most abundant were those of the sheep. These . . . belong to a breed closely allied to that of the *Romano-British* villages of Woodcuts and Rotherley (*Excavations in Cranborne Chase*, by General Pitt-Rivers). They were, however, thicker in the leg. They are now represented by the active and slender-legged hill sheep.

"The whole group of domestic animals (including the Shorthorn) is identical with those I have described from the Neolithic caves and burial-places in the district. It is also just such an accumulation as may be found in the refuse-heaps, in the homesteads in those parts of Wales, into which the larger breeds of sheep and cattle, common in the low country, have not yet penetrated. This fact establishes a continuity of farming operations in Wales, from the Neolithic Age, through the Bronze and Iron Ages, down to the present time. This continuity exists also with regard to the farmers, the great majority of the human remains belonging to a race still represented by the small dark Iberic folk of the secluded villages" (*Archæologia Cambrensis*, 6th Ser., vol. ii, pp. 174-177).

These remarks, *mutatis mutandis*, apply equally to the animal remains found at Dumbuck and Langbank, and, as

¹ This is also found at Dumbuck. It is known as the *Celtic Shorthorn*.



Loughbeg Crannog (on the Clyde.)
General View and Specimens of the 'Finds.

will be noticed, the period indicated by them is that of the Roman occupation of Britain, while the people of Celtiberian race were in the Neolithic stage of culture tinctured with Bronze Age influences.

Operations at Langbank were resumed last autumn, of which a short account appeared in the *Athenæum*, and of which Mr. Bruce has given an account before the Glasgow Archæological Society.

Among the most curious of the later "finds" are a couple of amulets of Cannel coal, precisely similar to those previously found at Dumbuck (one bearing a rude image of a human face, the other an ornamentation of cup-and-ring-markings), and a bronze penannular brooch. These are all figured on the drawing accompanying these notes. From an article on the "Chevron and its Derivatives," by Mr. Romilly Allen, in *Archæologia Cambrensis*, a most able and interesting study of the whole subject, I extract the following remarks, which apply to the matter in hand :—

"Stone, amber, and jet were used in the Bronze Age for the manufacture of certain objects which were deposited as grave-goods in the round barrows. Amongst the most curious objects of stone are three carved chalk cylinders, shaped like a drum or a cheese, found in a barrow at Folkton, Yorkshire, and now in the British Museum. *The tops of the drums are ornamented in each case with concentric circles, and the sides with chevron and lozenge patterns, shaded with cross-etching of delicate lines. In addition to the ornament, they also have highly conventionalised owl-like human faces, resembling those on the idols from Troy, Mykenæ (Schliemann's Troy, p. 307), and the remarkable figures in the artificial caves found in France (Cartailhac's La France Préhistorique, p. 242).*"

With these may be compared the similar articles described and figured in Hoernes' *Urgeschichte der Bildenden Kunst in Europa (passim)*, and the curious so-called "face-vases" from Troy and Mykenæ. A British example of these latter is to be seen in the Colchester Museum, and one of almost exactly the same type, from Mexico, in the Norwich Museum.

To continue our quotation: "Before leaving this branch of the subject," Mr. Allen proceeds, "it may be

well to mention the interesting *slate tablets or amulets*, with patterns formed of chevrons and triangles, found in the cave of Casa de Moura, at the foot of Monte Junto, Portugal" (Cartailhac's *Les Âges Préhistoriques de l'Espagne et du Portugal*, p. 97).

We may surely ask : If these "finds" are to be accounted genuine—and no doubt has been cast upon them—why are the "finds" from the Clyde to be viewed with suspicion ? May we not rather see in them a rude and primitive expression of the art which, among more cultured races, developed into the better finished idols and face-vases of Troy, Mykenæ, and Britain, and which is also found not only in the far North—in Finland and Russia—but actually in Mexico ?

The similarity of material is no less remarkable than the similarity of design; and it is to be noted that, in speaking of the "slate tablets," Mr. Allen calls them "amulets," the very name I have given to the ornamented slate spear-heads from Dumbuck (see *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 6th Ser., vol. ii, pp. 222-224 ; and compare *Journal* of the British Archæological Association, vol. lvi, pp. 173, 174, and vol. lvii, p. 244). The italics in the quotations are mine.

The brooch is the first article of bronze which has been found in either crannog, and is clearly of Celtic workmanship.

In presence of the brooch and the comb a new theory has been started, by Dr. David Murray, LL.D., F.S.A.Scot., to account for the "amulets," viz., that they are not amulets at all, nor any evidence as to the condition or mode of thought of the inhabitants of the crannogs ; but that they are so far genuine as to be the work of "some idle Roman soldiers" forming the garrison in the neighbourhood. There might be some vestige of probability in this theory, if it could be proved (1) that the brooch and the comb are of Roman workmanship ; and (2) that Roman soldiers were in the habit of wiling away their time by executing rude human figures, or making cup-and-ring-marks, on stones or pieces of Cannel coal.

But there is no evidence whatever that Roman

soldiers, to whatever part of the Empire or to whatever tribe or nation they belonged, ever did indulge in such grotesque sports, and none such have ever been found on the Roman Wall or in any other Roman camps or garrisons ; while the brooch and the comb are, in fact, against the theory being, as I have stated, unmistakeably Celtic. The markings on the comb may be compared with those on the three bone-pins found at the Ballinderry Crannog, in Ireland (as described in the July Part of the *Journal* of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, 1902), and both belong to the style of art known as "Late-Celtic." This mode of ornamentation afterwards developed into the beautiful art in stone and metal-work to be seen on Irish crosses and other objects, such as the Cross of Cong and the Chalice and Brooches of Tara and Ardagh ; and in writing, in the exquisite scroll-work and capital letters of Irish and later Celtic (so-called Saxon) manuscripts, *e.g.*, the Books of Kells and Armagh, the Lindisfarne Gospels (derived through Iona from Ireland), and many others.

Mr. Bruce says :—

"The ornamentation has been done by the use of a pair of compasses, and consists of crescents and circles, not unlike the style of ornamentation associated with the bronze remains of the Celtic art of the Pagan period, several examples of which are referred to by Dr. Joseph Anderson, in his book on *Scotland in Pagan Times*. In the *Catalogue* of the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Edinburgh, p. 245, there is a comb of identical ornamentation, measuring $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. long, found in the ruins of an ancient inhabited site, near Seacliff, East Lothian, associated with relics of late Roman times, including fragments of a large Roman jar and of other pottery, bone pins and implements, upper and lower stones of a quern, and teeth and bones of ox, horse, sheep, pig, goat, deer, dog, etc. ; and a variety of sea-shells. This comb thus supplies an approximate idea of the date of habitation of the dwelling."

My own first impression was that the Langbank Crannog might, from these evidences, be adjudged of later date than that of Dumbuck ; but since the discovery of the amulets, and seeing that the style of construction is in both cases similar, and that the "finds" in each fall into line with the other discoveries at Dumbuie and

Auchintorlie in the immediate neighbourhood, I would assign all to about the same period, viz., somewhere towards the close of the Roman occupation of Britain: when, as may be inferred from Bede, the Picts, who were the natives of the locality, would appear to have been still in the Neolithic stage of culture. The amulets of Cannel coal, together with the inscribed slate and shale spear-heads, shells, and rounded stones, belonged to the original constructors and inhabitants of the crannog, and bore a very real and vital relationship to their religious and totemistic arrangements; the brooch and comb belong, if not to a later time, at least not to the original inhabitants, but to a Celtic tribe who may very probably have invaded and ousted them from Langbank, and dwelt in their settlement.

The similarity of the "finds" in all these various but neighbouring localities, the possibility of assigning them to a definite period, and the fact that they belong, as so assigned, to rude but successive stages of primitive culture, together with the circumstance that the objects "found" fall into line with the cup- and ring-markings on the rocks in the same locality—though these, of course, may go back to a much earlier period—are, I think, a sufficient answer to those who accuse the discoverers of "salting" the crannogs: an accusation which they indignantly deny, and which the presence of members of different archaeological societies on the spot makes it difficult to conceive possible.



British Archaeological Association.

FIFTY-NINTH ANNUAL CONGRESS, WESTMINSTER AND HOME COUNTIES, 1902.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 15TH, TO SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 20TH.

PRESIDENT.

THE WORSHIPFUL THE MAYOR OF THE CITY OF
WESTMINSTER
(LIEUT.-COL. CLIFFORD PROBYN, J.P.)

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, K.G., EARL
MARSHAL.
THE DUKE OF SUTHERLAND, K.G.
THE MARQUESS OF RIPON, K.G.,
G.C.S.I.
THE MARQUESS OF GRANBY.
THE EARL OF MOUNT-EDGUMBE,
D.C.L.
THE EARL NELSON.
THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK, G.C.S.I.
THE LORD MOSTYN.
THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF
ELY, D.D.
SIR CHAS. H. ROUSE BUGHTON,
BART.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., D.C.L.,
LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A.
SIR ALBERT WOODS, K.C.M.G., F.S.A.
(Garter King of Arms.)
W. DE GRAY BIRCH, Esq., LL.D.,
THOMAS BLASHILL, Esq. [F.S.A.
C. H. COMPTON, Esq.
WILLIAM H. COPE, Esq., F.S.A.
H. SYER CUMING, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.
I. C. GOULD, Esq.
THOS. HODGKIN, Esq., D.C.L., F.S.A.
C. LYNAM, Esq., F.S.A.
J. S. PHENÉ, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A.,
F.G.S., F.R.G.S.
B. WINSTONE, Esq., M.D.

With power to add to their number.

COUNCIL.

REV. H. CART, M.A.
W. DERHAM, Esq.
M. L. FERRAR, Esq.
R. H. FORSTER, Esq., M.A.
R. HORSFALL, Esq.
ROBT. HOVENDEN, Esq., F.S.A.
T. CANN HUGHES, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.
W. E. HUGHES, Esq.
S. W. KERSHAW, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.
REV. W. S. LACH-SZYRMA, M.A.

RICHARD DUPPA LLOYD, Esq.,
F.R.Hist.S.
W. J. NICHOLS, Esq.
A. OLIVER, Esq.
THOS. FRANCIS PEACOCK, Esq.,
F.S.A.
W. H. RYLANDS, Esq., F.S.A.
REV. C. H. EVELYN WHITE, F.S.A.
C. J. WILLIAMS, Esq.
T. CATO WORSFOLD, Esq., F.R.Hist.S.

With power to add to their number.

Hon. Treasurer—W. DE GRAY BIRCH, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A.

Vice-Treasurer—S. RAYSON, Esq., 32, Sackville Street, Piccadilly, W.

Hon. Secretaries—

GEORGE PATRICK, Esq., A.R.I.B.A., 1, Gresham Buildings, Basinghall St., E.C.

REV. H. J. DUKINFELD ASTLEY, M.A., East Rudham Vicarage, King's
Lynn, Norfolk.

Auditors—CECIL DAVIS, Esq. and R. H. FORSTER, Esq., M.D.



Proceedings of the Congress.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 15TH, 1902.

THE fifty-ninth Annual Congress was opened to-day by the President of the year, the Mayor of the City of Westminster, Lieut.-Col. Clifford Probyn, J.P., at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, at 2.30 p.m., when a large party assembled for the inaugural proceedings.

The company afterwards visited St. Margaret's Church, adjoining the Abbey, where they were welcomed by the Rector, the Rev. Canon Hensley Henson, who gave a most interesting description of the church, which he said was really of more historical than archaeological interest. The original church was founded by Edward the Confessor, and next to the Abbey is the most ancient and celebrated church in Westminster. Stow says: "The parish church of St. Margaret, sometime within the Abbey, was by Edward the Confessor removed and built without for ease of the monks." Edward the Confessor's church remained until the time of Edward I, at which period (again to quote Stow) the merchants of the Staple (*i.e.*, the Woolstaplers) and the parishioners of Westminster built it all of new, the chancel excepted, which was lately before new built by the Abbot of Westr., "and this church (he says) remaineth now a fair parish church, though sometime in danger of downpulling." The present edifice dates mainly from the middle of the fifteenth century, and is far more imposing internally than would be expected from its exterior, which has been re-cased and otherwise altered in comparatively recent times.

St. Margaret's is known as the Church of the House of Commons. The Canon related some of the historical events connected with the church, which are many. Amongst others he mentioned that, on September 25th, 1643, the Covenant was read from the pulpit, and all those present held up their hands in assent to it. Here, in Charles I's time, all the fast-day sermons were preached before Pym, Cromwell, Harrison, Praise-God-Barebones, and the rest of the then Parliament of England. Hugh Peters also preached here, in order to cause the Parliament to bring the King to trial.

There are many monuments to the celebrated persons who have found a resting-place in this church and churchyard, but the object most worthy of notice is the famous east window of painted glass, which was described by Mr. I. C. Gould. Very curious is the history of this window, so far as it has yet been traced with exactitude. Said to have been painted at Dort, in Holland—Gouda is also mentioned, where it is said it took five years in execution—it was presented to Henry VII in view of the betrothal of his son Arthur to Catherine of Arragon, and was intended by the King to be placed in his new chapel at Westminster Abbey. The King, however, died in 1509, and the window was not erected there, but, somehow, was obtained by the Abbot of Waltham, in Essex. Whether it ever was erected in that abbey-church is unknown. It has been stated that at the Dissolution it was taken to Abbot Fuller's private chapel in New Hall, at Boreham. As this mansion, however, never belonged to the Abbot, but to Henry VIII, Mr. Gould held that if the window went into any private chapel of the Abbot, it was more likely erected in his private chapel at Old Copt (or Copped) Hall, near Epping, and that when Henry VIII obtained the old hall he removed the window to his much-favoured palace of Beaulieu, or New Hall. All this, however, is but conjecture. All we really know is that the window found its way to that fine Tudor mansion, and there remained for about two hundred years, till, in the year 1737, John Olmuis, becoming possessor of the house, at once commenced to pull it down, including the chapel. The glass of the window he preserved in chests. The window was next sold by Olmuis to John Conyers, of Copt Hall, who paid fifty guineas for it; but he, deciding to pull down old Copt Hall, never erected the window, and it was sold by his son in 1758 to the parishioners of St. Margaret at Westminster for 400 guineas; and so, after some two hundred and fifty years of strange vicissitudes, this beautiful painted glass at length came back to the immediate locality for which it was originally intended, and, most curiously of all, uninjured. The monuments in the church commemorate, amongst many others, Caxton, who lived in the Almonry, upon a site now occupied by the entrance to the Westminster Palace Hotel, and had his printing-press in the triforium gallery of the Abbey; Raleigh; Thomas May, the poet; Sir Wm. Waller, the Parliamentary General; Admiral Blake; Hollar, the celebrated engraver; and Blood, who attempted to steal the regalia. The poet Milton was here married to Katherine Woodcock, who died in the following year. Only one brass remains; all the rest were sold in 1644 at 3*d.* and 4*d.* per lb., as is attested by the churchwardens' accounts. From the time of Stow this church has been periodically

threatened with demolition. It is to be hoped, however, that wiser counsels will continue to prevail, and that this most interesting edifice may be allowed to remain. Its removal would be a distinct loss to the appearance of the Abbey, by reason of the scale which it gives: for St. Margaret's is by no means a small or insignificant building, but is a good-sized parish church.

In the vestry the visitors were shown by Canon Henson the fine collection of silver plate, churchwardens' maces, etc., and the parish registers, the earliest of which is dated 1537. Many interesting old engravings are framed and hung on the walls, from one of which it appears that as late as the year 1726 a woman was burnt alive for killing her husband.

Leaving St. Margaret's Church, the party proceeded by train to Addison-road Station and walked to Addison Crescent, to view the rare and valuable examples of ancient china, faience, and majolica ware, illustrating the history of the art of pottery and china, collected by Mr. R. Duppa-Lloyd. Some of these treasures are priceless in value. Mr. Lloyd also exhibited a few rare examples of bronze as specimens of art, or artisan, work. Some examples from a very large collection of old engravings of the Italian school from 1420 to 1795; the German school, 1450 to 1800; the Dutch and French schools, from 1500 to 1800; and the English school from 1600, were also exhibited and admired. These engravings, from an archæological point of view, are very instructive. Having partaken of tea, the visitors returned to the hotel, and at 8.30 proceeded to the Caxton Hall, where they were received by the Mayor and Mayoress of Westminster at a *Conversazione*, and where his Worship delivered his Presidential Address, which has been published in this volume of the *Journal*, pp. 1-7.

In a room adjoining the Mayor's parlour were exhibited some old records, the earliest extant being dated 1460; but the first was granted in 1256, giving a weekly market to the inhabitants of Westminster. These records were collected together and bound in 1730. The Corporation maces and the loving cups—one very handsome, of silver gilt, dated 1588, and known as the "Armada Cup," and the famous "Tobacco-Box"—were also exhibited and described by Mr. Terry.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 16TH, 1902.

To-day the members and friends proceeded to Rochester, where they were met by Mr. Geo. Payne, F.S.A., and conducted without delay to the Castle. Here Mr. Payne gave a most careful account of the town

and Castle from Roman times, with the help of a large-scale plan spread out before him. The Roman walls have now been accurately traced and plotted, and the positions of its four strongly-fortified gates have been identified. The walls enclosed an area of about 24 acres, and the gates were situated at the four cardinal points. Many coins, and the remains of piles, were found at the time of the building of the present bridge over the Medway, showing that there was a bridge here in Roman days, and some of these piles are now preserved in the keep of the Castle. A causeway had been discovered in the marshes on the north side of the river, and upon its masonry were still remaining the traces of wagon and chariot wheels. Hence what was formerly conjecture in respect to many problems as to the Roman Durobriva has now been set at rest, by the excavation conducted by himself with the permission of the Corporation.

Coming to mediæval Rochester, Mr. Payne described Gundulph's work in the Castle in 1080-1090, of which only the curtain wall remains: the keep, whose splendid ruins are now being carefully safeguarded, being the work of Archbishop William de Corbeuil in 1120-1130.

A very interesting bit of walling was pointed out in the side of the curtain-wall facing the river, where there may be seen together, on the outer side, the core of the original Roman wall, next the thickening of this by Gundulph, and on the inside its further thickening by Henry III, when he repaired the Castle after its siege by John. The distinction in the walling is clearly shown by the difference in the mortar, the Roman being solid as a rock, the mediæval distinguished by a difference in colour, being soft and friable. "The most interesting piece of walling in England," said Mr. Payne. When the Castle was besieged by King John, a large portion of the keep was undermined and destroyed. This portion was repaired by Henry III, but a huge crack in the walls marks the line between the original and the thirteenth-century work.

Mr. Payne conducted the party round the Castle, and described the explorations which had been carried out by the Corporation of Rochester under his superintendence. The Corporation is deserving of the highest commendation for the great interest and care it has manifested in the preservation of the archæological remains of its ancient town. No restoration work has been attempted, but only careful and systematic reparation of the walls, the removal of the ivy, which was doing great injury to them, and the grouting of the walls with cement, so that now they will last and are secure for centuries to come.

Passing by the celebrated earthwork of Boly Hill, now covered with

houses, the party next paid an all-too-hurried visit to the Cathedral. This was most fully and most lucidly described by Mr. Payne, but it is so well known that little need be said. The west front, with its beautiful doorway, was admired before entering the building. The Norman tympanum is especially fine, representing Our Lord in glory, with the emblems of the four Evangelists. Below there is a course of stones, each containing a figure supposed to be an Apostle; these are very curiously "joggled" the one into the other. On reaching the interior, much regret was felt that the west end should be occupied with the huge fifteenth century window in place of the original beautiful Norman arcading, of which some traces remain. Great interest was felt in viewing the circular lines on the floor at the west end of the north aisle, by which the Dean and Chapter have marked the site of the apse of the first lowly Saxon Cathedral; and much satisfaction was expressed that when this church was being practically rebuilt in the thirteenth century, and the east end and choir was finished, and two bays of the nave, something happened to interfere with further progress; to which fortunate circumstance we owe the preservation of Gundulph's grand nave, and the fine later Norman work of Ernulph in the triforium, with its beautiful diaper ornamentation.

In the afternoon carriages were taken for Cobham Hall and Church, and the drive through the Kentish uplands was much appreciated after the serious work of the morning.

At the Hall the party were kindly received and welcomed by the Earl of Darnley, who accompanied them round the house.

Mr. Payne gave an account of the building and of its former inhabitants, from which it appears that the Lords of Cobham had resided on the site of the present house for over six hundred years. The present mansion is a very fine example of Elizabethan architecture, and dates from 1554 to 1603. The date, 1584, remains upon one of the gateways, and the date, 1594, is to be seen upon a leaden water-shoot. In the large dining-room is a mantelpiece of the Elizabethan period. One of the curious features of this room is the sideboard and sink of black-and-white marble. The ornamental iron railing of the grand staircase is dated 1601-1603. In the picture gallery, Lord Darnley pointed out the most celebrated paintings, which include many fine examples of Titian, Rubens, Salvator Rosa, Vandyck, etc. Charles I visited Cobham Hall with his Queen after their marriage at Canterbury, and the Hall was captured by the Parliamentarians in 1643.

A short drive through the park brought the party to Cobham Church, so well known and so justly celebrated on account of its

magnificent series of brasses from 1399 to 1529. The Vicar welcomed the party, after which Mr. Payne described the church.

COBHAM CHURCH.

The oldest portion is the chancel, of Early English architecture. It is lighted by five lancet windows on each side, with a lancet triplet at the east end. The present roof is lower than the original, and was probably erected in the fourteenth century, when the chancel was in a bad state of repair. Some of the corbels of the original roof remain. On the south side are three sedilia and a fine piscina of the Decorated period. Behind are the remains of a staircase, which is in a very unusual position. During the restoration of the church, in 1860, this was opened, when several heads of female saints and other sculptured fragments were found, which seem to have belonged to a screen or reredos. An examination of the cornice of the piscina shows that it has been broken away at the south-east angle, as if it had returned at that point. If so, the reredos would have crossed the aisle from that point leaving a vacant space between it and the east wall: a very unusual arrangement. Judging by the relics found upon the staircase, the screen must have been of a sumptuous character, of the style and date of the sedilia. The stairs evidently led to a gallery, or loft, of wood behind the top of the reredos, which is indicated by mortice-holes in the roof above. It has been thought that the gallery was for the exhibition of relics, the conservation of which behind the reredos, as in some Continental churches, would explain the use of the structure.

The fragments show that the reredos was of tabernacle work, with figures of various sizes beneath canopies. There are three female heads, crowned, of the Virgin Mary, St. Katherine, and possibly St. Ursula.

There are portions of figures of the Apostles, the whole indicating, perhaps, that the composition was one of Christ in Glory, accompanied by Apostles, martyrs, and saints.

John de Cobham, who founded the College in the reign of Edward III, gave munificently to the repair of their church, and presented books, ornaments, and costly vestments. The costly reredos may also be referred to his great liberality.

The ancient altar-slab, with five crosses incised thereon, emblematic of the five wounds of Christ, remains at the east end. In 1860, an earthen pot containing bones, probably sacred relics, was found beneath it. The chancel arch was erected in 1860, taking the place of an older and smaller one. The screen-work, of oak, now forming

a vestry, formerly enclosed a space at the east end of the north aisle.

The tower is of Perpendicular date. That eminent authority, J. G. Waller, says:—"Cobham Church is distinguished above all others as possessing the finest and most complete series of brasses in the kingdom. It contains some of the earliest and some of the latest, as well as some of the most beautiful in design. The inscriptions are also remarkable, and the heraldry, for its intelligence, is in itself a study."

In the middle of the chancel is the noble tomb of George Brooke, Lord Cobham, Governor of Calais and Knight of the Garter, and his wife. The figures of their fourteen children—ten sons and four daughters—are kneeling round the monument. George Brooke died in 1558, and his son William caused this tomb to be erected three years after.

This Lord of Cobham married Anne, daughter of John, Lord Bray, about 1525. Their gorgeous tomb is of great beauty, constructed of alabaster, with the exception of the table, which is of black marble. The four daughters are at each end; the sons on each side, placed according to their priority of birth alternately, first on the right or south side, then on the north side. Escutcheons of arms are at each end.

Mr. Waller says:—"The effigies are finely executed, displaying a very superior art, and are most likely of Flemish workmanship, being in character very similar to that of Count Lalaing, at Hoogstraaten, in Belgium. This nobleman, who also figured in the political arena of his time, died in 1558; and it cannot be doubted but that the same sculptor executed the monuments of both.

Lord Cobham is represented in armour, surmounted by a tabard emblazoned with his arms, through a slit of which appears the lance-rest. Over this he wears the mantle with cordon, collar and hood, of the Order of the Garter, and the Garter with its motto is on his right knee. His hands are clasped in prayer, and his head rests on an embroidered cushion, the pattern inlaid with black. At his feet is the heraldic antelope, or gazelle, resembling, however, a young ram couchant. The figure of the Lady Anne wears over the gown a tabard of her arms, viz., Bray, and quarterings, and over this a mantle of estate, with the arms and quarterings of Brooke. Her head rests on a cushion similar to that beneath her husband's, and she wears the French hood, forerunner of the modern bonnet. Her hands are conjoined in prayer, and at her feet is a cognizance of the house of Bray. On a semicircular projection of the west end of the table lies

a helmet, surmounted by the ancient crest of the Cobham family, the Moor, or Saracen's head, and the ram is seen over against the tomb on the north wall upon a helmet—possibly that of Lord George. At the east end of the tomb are two escutcheons. The upper one is Brooke and quarterings. Beneath, the arms of Brooke, impaling those of Bray.

At the west end there are also two escutcheons: upper one Brooke, as before, with quartering of Bray on an escutcheon of pretence. It is surrounded by the Garter.

Beneath, an escutcheon with twenty-seven coats-of-arms, consisting of the quarterings of Brooke and Bray, impaling the arms and quarterings of Newton. We will now take the children in the order in which they are placed, according to priority of birth. West side: Elizabeth, Marchioness of Northampton, wearing a coronet, a tabard of arms over her gown, and a mantle. Arms, Brooke and Bray, imp. Parre. Opposite, Anne, died unmarried. East end: Mary, unmarried, and Katherine. All have tabards of arms of Brooke and Bray, those of Katherine impaling Jerningham.

West end of south side:—The figures of the sons in armour begin with Sir William. He wears a Peer's mantle, with tippet of ermine, a tabard, with arms of Brooke and Bray, over which is a label of three points, impaling Nevil of Abergavenny for his wife.

George Brooke, unlike the others, is kneeling upon one knee. The tabard shows an impalement of the arms of Duke.

John Brooke, arms of Cobbe impaled.

Henry Brooke, unmarried, impales blank.

Edmund Brooke, arms Brooke and Bray. He holds his sword-hilt with his left hand, the right hand on his breast.

North side: Henry Brooke, unmarried, when this tomb was made.

Thomas Brooke, arms impale Cavendish.

Edward Brooke, unmarried.

Thos. Brooke.

Edward Brooke, arms Brooke and Bray. He, like his brother Edmund, terminate the row on each side, hence are placed facing the altar. All these figures have their names superscribed above them.

The date, 1561, of this remarkable monument, is inscribed in large characters at the base of the west end of the tomb, being shown as white upon a black ground, and it is a feature in this monument that its decoration is produced by incisions filled in with colour, black being that for the architectural proportions. The material used is wax mixed with resin, an Italian process, and a relic of the Greek encaustic practice spoken of by Pliny, which indeed was a forerunner of oil

painting. In this particular the example is specially interesting, as no other instance occurred to Mr. Waller of its use in England. Many of the colours here used, however, have been made of pigments having a tendency to fade or change, viz., verditer for blue, which has become a dark green, and an impure vermilion or native cinnabar, which has become brown. The heraldry, too, is in some places untrue, as in the small figures: *argent* and *or* are both represented by the alabaster itself; but it may be possible that *or* was originally intended to be gilded.

BRASSES.

Commencing north side against altar rails.

1. John of Cobham (I), 1299.
- 1A. Joan de Cobham (II), canopy, 1300.
2. Sir Thos. Cobham (4), 1367.
3. Sir John Cobham, model of church, with transepts and spire (5) 1367.
4. Margaret Cobham (6), 1375.
5. Maud Cobham (7), 1380.
6. Margaret Cobham (8), 1395.
7. Sir John Cobham (3), 1354.
8. Rauf Cobham (9), holding inscription, 1402.
9. Sir Thos. Brooke and Lady (15), 1529.
10. Sir Reginald Braybrook, Kt. (11), 1405.
11. Joan de Cobham, five husbands (13), 1433.
12. Sir Nich. Hawberk (12), 1407.
13. Sir John Brooke and Lady (15), 1512.
16. William Tannere, demi-figure in almuze. Very unusual to see see it fastened by a morse. First Master of Cobham College, 1418.
17. John Sprotte, in cope and almuze, Master 1498.

Nave.

18. John Gladwyn, in cope and almuze, Master 1450.

North Aisle.

19. John Gerye, a priest, 1447, in cope in head of floriated cross.
20. Reginald Cobham, priest, 1420, now covered up.
21. William Hobson, priest, Master 1472. This brass is a palimpsest. In chancel.

COBHAM COLLEGE.

The remains of "Cobham College," on the south side of the Church, were the last item of interest inspected; and its history was briefly told by Mr. Payne.

In the 36th of Edward III, John of Cobham founded a Perpetual Chantry or College here, for five priests or chaplains, afterwards increasing the number with two more.

The house in which the chaplains dwelt was a quadrangular building. Part of the east wall, overgrown with ivy, and large chimney-pieces of the refectory or kitchen remain, as well as part of the north cloister. The doorway through which the masters and brethren passed into the church to their stalls daily, still remain on each side of the great chancel. The chaplains daily celebrated Mass for the soul of the founder and his noble family. After the suppression of such establishments by Henry VIII, it was refounded by William Brooke, Lord Cobham, as an almshouse for twenty poor persons, in 1598. An inscription to this effect may be seen over the south gate of the College, and above it is the armorial shield of William, Lord Cobham, with its twelve quarterings.

The dining-hall of Cobham College contains an interesting fireplace, of the time of Richard II. In the right hand spandrel is the crest of Sir John Cobham, the founder, a Saracen's head, from which a flower with foliage extends towards the centre. In the left-hand spandrel is an armorial shield, bearing an escallop shell, with a saltire in chief; a flower and foliage extend as on the opposite side. On the right-hand shoulder of the mantelpiece a flower is carved; on the left shoulder is a shield, with the letters of a man's name arranged in three lines—*M. T | rynd | yn |* (M. Tryndyn)—probably the name of the mason or builder.

In this hall Dr. George Crowmer, who was Master of the College in 1521, was sworn in to the Archbishopric of Armagh. Special commissioners attended here on that occasion, before whom Dr. Crowmer took the oaths of allegiance and fealty.

There was no evening meeting.





Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 14th, 1903.

S. W. KERSHAW, ESQ., F.S.A., IN THE CHAIR.

The following Members were duly elected :—

The Rev. Alan Williams, M.A., Capetown, S. Africa.

W. Eggleston Blackett, Esq., Rosslyn, The Down, Wimbledon.

Philip Sidney, Esq., Royal Societies Club, S.W.

The Hon. Algernon H. Mills, Mapledurham, Reading.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the donor of the following present to the Library :—

To Dr. Russell Forbes, for "Rambles in Rome," 9th Ed., 1903.

The Rev. H. J. Dukinfield Astley, Hon. Sec., gave an interesting Lecture upon "A Group of Norman Fonts in N.W. Norfolk," illustrated by nearly 100 lantern-slides from photographs taken by Mr. E. M. Beloe, junr., of King's Lynn, which will be published. In the discussion which followed, the Chairman, Mr. Goddard, Mr. Gould, Mr. Atkinson, President, and Mr. Johnston, Hon. Treasurer, of the "Viking Club," and others took part.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 21st, 1903.

DR. W. DE GRAY BIRCH, F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the donors of the following presents to the Library :—

To the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society, for "Journal," vol. xxv, Part 1, 1902.

„ Royal Institute of British Architects, for "Proceedings," vol. x, Third Series, Part 1.

Mr. George Patrick, Hon. Sec., exhibited some interesting Greek and Roman antiquities, and read a Paper upon them.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 4th, 1903.

C. H. COMPTON, ESQ., V.-P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following Member was duly elected :—

The Rev. H. G. Rosedale, D.D., F.R.S.L., 13, Ladbroke Gardens, W.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the donors of the following presents to the Library :—

- To the* Powysland Club, for "Collections, Historical and Archaeological," vol. xxxii, Part 2, 1903.
 „ Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, for "Journal," vol. xxxii, Part 4, 1902.
 „ Essex Archaeological Society for "Transactions," vol. ix, Part 1, 1903.
 „ Smithsonian Institution, for "Annual Report," 1902.
 „ Society of Antiquaries of Sweden for "Journal," vol. xvii, Part 1, 1902.
 „ Cambrian Archaeological Association for "Archæologia Cambrensis," vol. vii, Part 1, Sixth Series.
 „ Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle for vol. x, Nos. 26, 27, 28.
 „ Cambridge Antiquarian Society for "Cambridge Guild Records," 1903.

The Chairman read a Paper on "The Castle of Dunstanborough, Northumberland," which will be published.

Mr. R. H. Forster exhibited a large number of beautiful photographs (taken by himself) illustrative of the Paper; and Mr. Gould, Mr. Price Stretche, Mr. Forster, Mr. Patrick and others, took part in the discussion which followed.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 18TH, 1903.

Dr. W. DE GRAY BIRCH, F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the donor of the following present to the Library :—

- To the* Cambrian Archaeological Society, for "Archæologia Cambrensis," 6th Ser., vol. iii, Part. 1.

Mr. T. E. Price Stretche exhibited a curious example of a horse's bit, which was recently dug out of the moat surrounding an old manor-house in Shropshire. The bit is probably of the early fourteenth century.

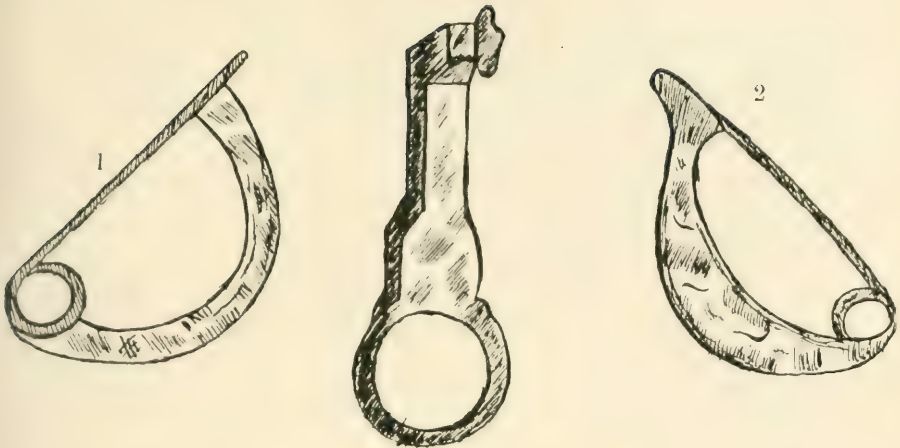
Mr. Patrick exhibited, on behalf of Mr. Richardson, a fire-mark of 1807, of the Royal Exchange Assurance Company. It is of cast lead, and bears a good impression of the building which was the immediate predecessor of the existing Royal Exchange, and was destroyed by fire in 1838. This fire-mark was taken from one of several old cottages, of late seventeenth-century date, at Strand-on-the-Green, Chiswick. These cottages once formed a part of the "City Barge Inn," and portions

of the old City Corporation barge were used in the construction of the inn.

Mr. Percy Scott exhibited a collection of Greek and Roman and other antiquities of bronze, consisting of (1) and (2) two fibulæ; (3) a key; (4) a female and (5) a male figure; (6) a curious boar-pig, with one leg lengthened into a hook; (7) a finger-ring, engraved with a horse leaping up towards an altar or canistrum; (8) a remarkable S-rayed ring; and (9) a nail-shaped symbol, highly ornamented with lines and cross patterns.

With reference to these bronzes, especially the male and female figures, the Rev. H. J. D. Astley remarked that they bore a great resemblance to similar articles found at Troy, Tiryns, and Mycenæ. They belong to the prehistoric or Mycenæan portion of the Bronze Age, and may be compared with products of Etruscan art. For the accompanying illustration we are indebted to the kindness of Dr. Winstone.

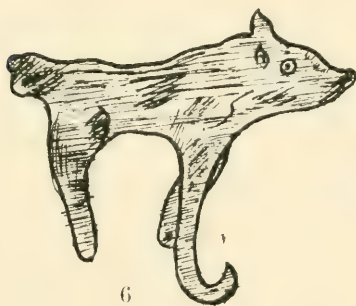
Mr. Andrew Oliver gave some "Short Notes on some Churches in France," descriptive of a large series of fine photographs exhibited. About midway between Chartres and Le Mans is La Ferte Bernard, with a grand church of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The interior terminates in an apse without a triforium, the space which would be occupied by it being filled with panelled work. Upon the caps of the columns round the apse are statues under canopies. The exterior shows two distinct dates in the work, the parapet consisting of an inscription in large letters. Close to the south porch there is a curious representation of Julius Caesar and Cleopatra looking out of a window, occupying the blank space over the arch of the window. About ten miles from Nevers are the remains of the monastery of La Charité-sur-Loire. Upon the site of five bays of the north aisle modern houses have been erected within the walls; the vaulting shafts are to be seen on the outside. The great tower is a grand piece of early twelfth-century date (1107). The whole building, with the exception of the arches in the choir, shows round arches, which are somewhat unusual at so late a period. Of the original structure the tower already mentioned, about three bays of the nave, the chancel and transepts, alone remain. There are some mutilated remains of the dormitory and refectory, the former now used as a stable, the latter as a warehouse; while other portions are incorporated in the municipal buildings. Another church has been turned into low-class dwellings. At Soissons, the remains of the once great abbey of St. Jean des Vigores and St. Marie des Vigores (the former possessing a magnificent triple-arched front flanked by a tower and spire on either side), and



3



4



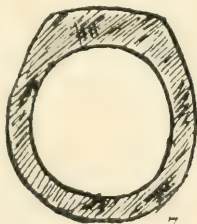
6



5



7A



7



8



9

Bronze Antiquities.

portions of the cloisters are still in existence. The refectory and dormitory are now used as a *depôt* for military stores. Of St. Marie hardly anything is left, but, as in the case of St. Jean, the remains are in the hands of the military authorities.

Mr. Gould, Mr. Baxter, Mr. Compton, Mr. Williams, Mr. Rayson, Mr. Cheney, the Rev. H. J. D. Astley, and Mr. Patrick, took part in an interesting discussion following the paper.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 4th, 1903.

C. H. COMPTON, ESQ., V.-P., IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the donors of the following presents to the Library:—

To the Somersetshire Archæological Society, for "Proceedings," 1902.
 „ Royal Archæological Institute, for "Archæological Journal,"
 vol. lix, Part 4, 1902.

Dr. Phené, F.S.A., etc., V.P., read a long and very interesting Paper on the "Civilisation of Crete, Cyrene, Corinth, and Early Rome," in which he gave the results of half a century's research in those places. There was no subsequent discussion, owing to the length of the Paper, which will, it is hoped, be published as fully as the space at the disposal of the editor of the *Journal* will permit.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 18th, 1903.

C. H. COMPTON, ESQ., V.-P., IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the donor of the following present to the Library:—

To the Society of Antiquaries for "Archæologia," vol. lvi, Part 1,
 and "Proceedings," vol. ix, Part 8.

Mr. A. Oliver exhibited photographs of a pewter paten of 1636, belonging to Cuckfield Church, Sussex (described by Canon Cooper, the Vicar, in *Sussex Archæological Collections*); Dr. Winstone exhibited a copy of an old newspaper, *The World*, of 1788; Mr. P. Scott exhibited some Greek and Roman curiosities and a Nuremberg token of the 15th century; and Mr. Nicholls exhibited, through Mr. Gould, a portion of the humerus of a small red-deer, dug out of a cutting at Chislehurst.

Mr. A. D. Cheney read the Paper of the evening, which was on "Postling Church, Kent," in which he gave an exhaustive account of the historical and architectural antiquities of the ancient fabric. The Chairman, Mr. Gould, Mr. Patrick, and others, took part in the discussion which followed. This Paper will be published as soon as circumstances permit.



THE JOURNAL

OF THE

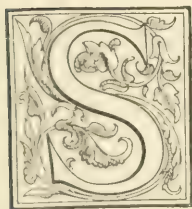
British Archaeological Association.

AUGUST, 1903.

BRITAIN'S BURSE, OR THE NEW EXCHANGE.

BY T. N. BRUSHFIELD, M.D., F.S.A.

(Continued from, p. 48.)



SOME indication of the range of trades permitted to be carried on in the building is shown in the Appendix; but of the actual or proximate number of shops accommodated in it we possess no record; it must, however, have been considerable, judging from the circumstance that in 1623 (as already pointed out) those on the lower floor alone let for £320 per annum. As the upper one was of larger size, was better lighted, and from the class of goods sold there would probably be the more fashionable resort, the annual letting would be greater than that of the other, without any necessary increase in the number of shops. Each possessed a separate fixed sign, which could not be changed by the tenant. Sempstresses, milliners, fancy goods, and everything relating to ladies' dresses seem to have monopolised those on the first floor.

Although much later in date, we possess some clue to the size of the shop openings, as well as to the rent,

from the copy of a lease in the possession of the writer, of which the following is an abstract :—

"This Indenture made the first day of June Anno Dn'i 1711 . . . Betweene Edward Paulin of London Merchant . . . and Margaret Ward of the Parish of St. Martin in the ffields in the County of Middlesex Coat Seller . . . witnesseth that the said Edward Paulin . . . doth Demise Lease and to ffarm lett unto the said Margaret Ward . . . All that Shopp now in her Occupation Knowne by the Name or Signe of the Three Flower de Lucees, on the North side of the Outward Space or Walke of the lowe part of the Building Called Britannia's Burse, scituate in or neere the Strand in the Parish and County aforesaid, containing in Length Tenn ffoote of Assize, more or less, Togeather with the use of the said Signe, Signe-Irons, Counters, Presses, Drawers, Shelves, Cubbords, and Partic'ons, and all Lights, Easements, Profitts, Comoditys, and Appurtenc'es to the said Shopp . . . To have and to hold . . . unto the ffull End and Terme of ffive Yeares . . . Paying . . . the Yearely rent of Sume of Eighteen Pounds of lawfull money of Greate Brittain . . . by ffoure equall payments . . .

"And further the said Margaret Ward . . . shall . . . Keepe all and every the Orders and Articles made concerning the said Burse and Tennants thereof, which are menc'oned and contained in certaine Articles of Agreement beareing date the Twenty Ninth day of May One Thousand Seaven Hundred and Eight, made between the Right Honorable ffrances Countess Dowager of Salisbury, Mother and Guardian of the Right Honorable James Earle of Salisbury, under the Age of Twenty One Yeares, of the One part, And Richard Sills, hosier, and George Noble Mercer, Two of the said Earl's Tennants of or unto certaine Shoppes in the lower part of the said House or Building called Britannia's Burse of the other part, etc."

This term of "Britannia's Burse" is repeated on the endorsement, and is the only example yet found where it is so called.

In the early part of the seventeenth century, commencing in the year following the opening of the Exchange, several booksellers' stalls were to be found on the lower walk of the ground floor. Here are some notices of them :—

"*An Extract out of the History of the last French King Henry IV, etc.* Imprinted by Robert Barker. To be sold at Britaine Burse. 1610."

"*The Triumph of James the First.* Printed at Brittain's Burse for John Budge. 1610."

Budge notes on the title-pages of some works published by him in 1613 and 1616, that they were "sold at his shop at the Great South Door of Paul's, and at Britain's Burse."

In 1620, Beaumont and Fletcher's *Philaster, or Love lies a bleeding*, was "Printed for Thomas Walkley, and at the *Eagle and Child* in Britain's Burse;" two years later, the first edition of *Othello* was published at the same place; and in 1627, Beaumont and Fletcher's *A King and No King*. (This was also the sign of Thomas Creede, a bookseller in the Royal Exchange, in 1584.)

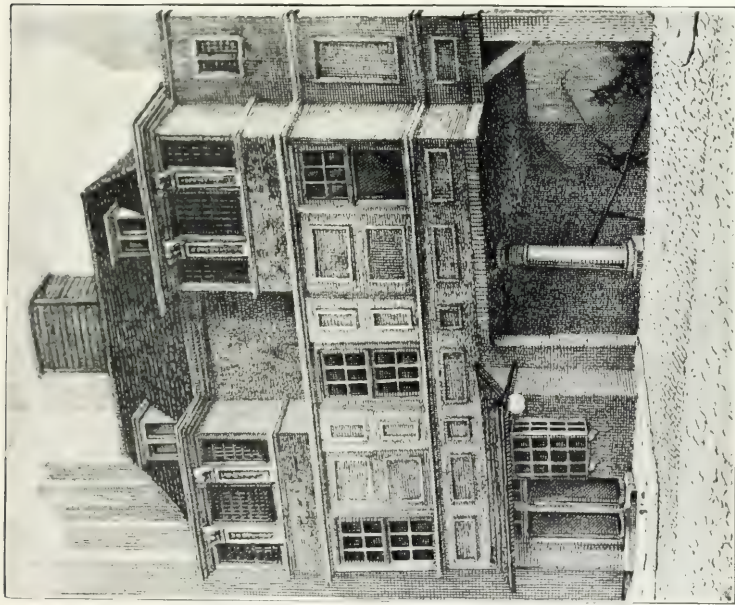
"At the *Harrow* in Britanne's Burse," Hugh Perrie (Perry) issued *Herodian of Alexandria, His History*, etc., in 1629; and *The Insatiate Countess* of J. Marston, in 1631. He must have left soon afterwards, as W. Sheares, at the same sign and place, published the *Works* of J. Marston in 1633; and, two years later, he sold there, and at another shop "neere Yorke-house," *The English Husbandman* of Gervase Markham.

Whatever may have been the cause, we meet with no more booksellers' names at the New Exchange until after the Restoration. (This absence cannot be confirmed until an examination is made of works issued from the press up to that period. The *British Museum Catalogue of Books* up to 1640, and various bibliographical works, more especially Professor Arber's¹ invaluable *Transcript of the Registers of the Stationers' Company*, record the town or city, but not the actual place of publication.) That some degree of dissatisfaction existed is indicated by the circumstance, that several of the booksellers already named left the building and set up elsewhere. For example, T. Walkley moved to "the sign of the *Flying Horse*, between Britain's Burse & York House," where he sold books in 1640 and 1642. Again, W.

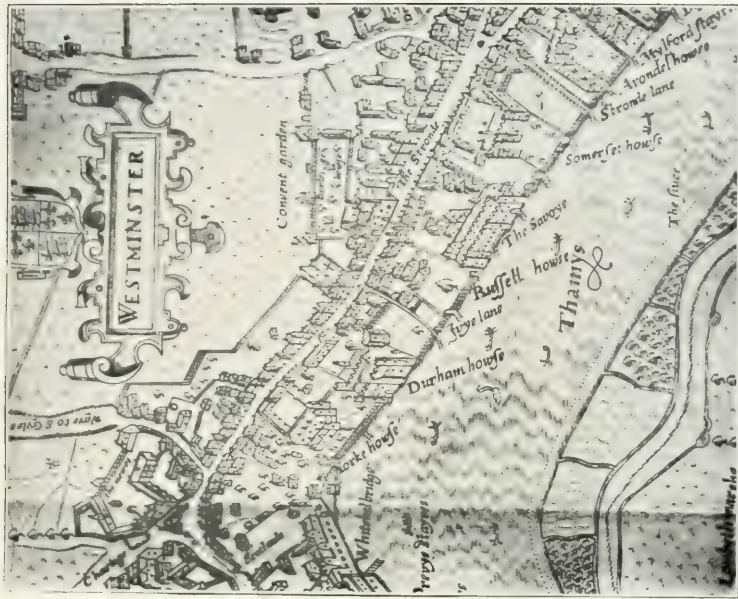
¹ Much of the information respecting the various works, now and hereafter named, is due to the kind assistance of Professor Arber.

Sheares quitted the Exchange at an early date, and published and sold several of the works of Sir W. Raleigh, at the *Bible* at the north door of St. Paul's;" and at the *Bible*, and *Blue Bible* in Bedford Street, Covent Garden, and in Westminster Hall.

A tragical affair took place at the Burse in 1653, of which many particulars are related in the *State Papers*. On November 30th of that year, the inhabitants of that place sent a petition to the Council recording that "on 22 November, divers attendants of the Portuguese Ambassador appeared on the Exchange, armed with swords, targets, coats of mail, etc., and assaulted and slew several people, some employed in business, and wounded many passengers in the Streets" (*Calendar of State Papers*, vol. xli. p. 87). On the day named, Don Pantaleon, brother to the Ambassador, was in the Exchange with a number of his followers, who, on receiving some affront from a young Englishman named Gerrard, attacked him with their drawn swords, further mischief being prevented by the bystanders. On the next day the Don, with fifty well-armed men, and accompanied with "two or three coaches that brought ammunition, in which were hand-granadoes and bottles and some little barrels of powder and bullets, and other necessities if occasion was. They had also some boats ready to attend them at the water-side, if occasion was for them also." They assailed many people, and after killing one with a pistol shot and severely wounding four others, they took refuge in the Portuguese embassy. When the authorities demanded the offenders to be given up, they pleaded privilege and the immunity of an Ambassador. But Cromwell was not the man to overlook such an outrage, and on threatening to let the mob take the law into their own hands they surrendered, and the Don with several others were transferred to Newgate. On December 8th he wrote an explanation of the whole occurrence, declaring that he and his companions went to the Exchange unarmed, and with a view to explain the quarrel of the previous day. He affirmed that "no Portuguese did hitherto endeavour any hostility at all, until such time as a pistol was discharged, upon the very ascent of the lower walk to the



Durham Gatehouse, 1790.



From Norden's Speculum Britanniae, 1593.

higher." (His "Narrative" is printed at length in the *Harleian Miscellany*, 1810, vol. vi, pp. 325-330). The trial was deferred from time to time, but ultimately took place on July 6th, 1654, when the Don was found guilty and sentenced to be hung. Great efforts were made to save his life, but Cromwell was inflexible; he, however, consented to alter the mode of execution from hanging to beheading, and this was carried into effect on July 10th. The whole of the circumstances are detailed in Lord Somers's *Tracts*, 1812, vol. vi, p. 254, *et seq.* As a curious sequel, Mr. Gerrard, who was a party to the first quarrel, was subsequently arraigned for a conspiracy against Cromwell, and was executed on the same day as the Don, and on the same scaffold.

We can easily surmise that from the period of the Restoration the dissolute manners and profligacy of the King and his Court, with their numerous imitators, would soon influence and alter the character and habits of the Exchange frequenters, and thereby present a striking contrast to the enforced decorous behaviour exhibited during the Commonwealth. From 1660, much of its history, of the wares sold, of the habits of its shopkeepers and visitors, etc., are related by various contemporary writers, of whom Pepys, during the reign of Charles II., takes the lead; his celebrated *Diary* containing more than fifty references to it.

In his day, and perhaps for long afterwards, it seems to have been customary to drink whey there, this and other articles of dairy produce being served in the underground part of the building. At least this appears to be the construction to be put on the following entry of his, *sub* June 17th, 1666 :—

"I walked out as far as the New Exchange . . . So downe to the milke-house, and drank three glasses of whay, and then up into the Strand again."

He records how, on May 30th, 1663, he, with Creed, "walked to the New Exchange, and there drank our morning draught of whay, the first I have done this year: but I perceive the lawyers come all in as they go to the Hall, and I believe it is very good." How great

this drink was in request is shown by an entry on June 7th, 1665, when he went with Creed "to the New Exchange, and there drunk whey, with much entreaty getting it for our money, and they would not be entreated to let us have one glasse more."

The only other refreshments taken by him there were on one occasion, some cream; and on another (April 26th, 1664), "a most delicate dish of curds and Creame."

The visits of Pepys to the Exchange booksellers are not often noted by him, nor does he mention any by name, with one exception, and on a single occasion only: but that is a notable one. We can, however, scarcely doubt that other recorded visits to the booksellers there were made to the same individual. This was Henry Herringman, whose shop was "at the sign of the *Anchor* in the Lower Walk of the New Exchange;" and is so entered on the title-page of T. Killigrew's *Comedies and Tragedies*, published by him in 1664. According to the *History of Signboards* (333), and also in a footnote in the *Diary* (August 10th, 1667), the *Blue Anchor* was his trade emblem. He was a leading publisher of his day; and, as was customary at that period, his shop was frequented by many literary people. Up to 1679, the works of Dryden were issued by him; and the poet lodged at his house. Moreover, it was there the latter first met Sir Robert Howard, his future brother-in-law. Herringman also published the works of Cowley, Mrs. Phillips, Davenant, Sir G. Etherege, etc. During two of his visits in April, 1666, Pepys began to be interested in "play-books;" and went there, he remarks, "to get a list of all the modern plays, which I intend to collect." A few years later he would probably have called on William Cademan, who, in 1674, lived at the *Fop's Head*. He had been an actor; but, having been on one occasion seriously wounded during some performance, he had to retire from the stage, and, on receiving a small pension, he set up as a publisher of plays, in the New Exchange. Thomas Duffet kept a milliner's shop there, before he turned dramatist; his first play was published in 1674. He wrote six, of which one was dedicated to Nell Gwynn.

Dr. Doran termed him "the Exchange milliner." In 1664-5, several works are noted as "printed by Tho. Mabb for John Playfere at the White Bear sometimes the "White Lion" in the Upper Walk of the New Exchange. The only example yet found of a bookseller having occupied a stall on that floor.

J. Knight and F. Sanders, apparently the successors of Herringman, published the *Lyric Poems* of P. Ayres in 1687, "at the *Blue Anchor* in the Lower Walk of the New Exchange," and T. Durfey's *A Fool's Preferment* in 1688. In 1700 Bennet Banbury published Farquhar's comedy *The Constant Couple*.

Many fancy goods and articles of dress were purchased there by Pepys—for himself, his wife and friends, his wife being apparently the least favoured. At his earliest recorded visit (September 22nd, 1660), he "bought a pair of short black stockings, to wear over a pair of silk ones for mourning."

"1662, April 15. With my wife, by coach, to the New Exchange, to buy her some things; where we saw some new-fashion pettycoats of Sarcenett, with a black broad lace printed round the bottom and before, very handsome, and my wife had a mind to one of them, but we did not then buy one."

He went there sometimes by water, landing at the New Exchange stairs, by which (as already noticed) there was a separate and private access to the back of the building. On a water excursion (May 10th, 1668), with three ladies: one being "old Mrs. Whistler," he remarks having "set down the old woman at Durham Yard." This would probably be at the Stairs at Ivy Bridge Lane, into which Durham Yard opened.

It was well known to, and resorted by, the dramatists of that period. Dryden, Wycherly, Etherege, and Otway, allude to it in their plays. Thus, in *She Woud if She Could*, by Sir George Etherege, first acted in 1668, two of the characters, Mrs. Trinket and Mrs. Gazetter, are "Exchange-women." In Act III, the scene opens in the building, and shows "Mistress Trinket sitting in a Shop. People passing by as in the Exchange;" and she calls out—

“What d’ye buy? what d’ye lack,
Gentlemen? Gloves, Ribbons, and
Essences; Ribbons, Gloves, and Essences?”

Again, in *The Atheist, or the Soldier's Fortune*, first acted in 1682, Otway lays one of his scenes in the same building, where “Mrs. Furnish, an Exchange-woman,” accosts the principal character thus:—“Gloves or Ribbands, Sir? Very good Gloves or Ribbands. Choice of fine Essences. Captain Beaugard, shall I sell you nothing to-day?” (Act II, Scene 1.)

The future Duchess of Albemarle, Ann Clarges (termed a “sempstress” by Aubrey), when the wife of Thomas Radford, sold toilet articles, etc., at the sign of the *Three Spanish Gypsies*. It is said that the Duchess of Tyrconnel, under the name of the “White Milliner,” kept one of the Exchange stalls for a short time; but Jesse deems the story, “not only apocryphal, but untrue.” Under the same title it was dramatised by Douglas Jerrold in 1840.

During the greater part of its career, and especially from the Restoration to the close of the seventeenth century, it was undoubtedly well patronised as a shopping place and as a fashionable lounge. It was commonly resorted to by the idle, the gay, and the profligate, as a general meeting-place, to learn the gossip of the day, and to wile away the time in conversing with the women who kept the stalls, in the free and unceremonious manner of the period. The “Exchange-wenches,” as they were termed in *England's Vanity*, published in 1683, are defined in Nares's *Glossary* as “the women who kept stalls at the Exchange, and whose reputation was not very good.” Gay's description of them in 1716 is more favourable:—

“The sempstress speeds to 'Change with red-tipt nose;
The Belgian stove beneath her footstool glows.
In half-whipt muslin needles useless lie,
And shuttle-cocks a-cross the counter fly.
These sports warm harmless; why, then, will ye prove,
Deluded maids, the dang'rous flame of love?”
(*Trivia*, Bk. II.)

They were probably more sinned against than sinning;

and whatever blame may be attached to them was mainly caused by the loose discourse and manners indulged in by the "gallants" of the seventeenth, and by the "men of honour" of the eighteenth, century, during their repeated visits to the Exchange. Pepys indicates this in some portions of his *Diary*, e.g., "1669: April 6. To the New Exchange, to talk with Betty my little sempstress." A cotemporaneous account by Addison appeared in the *Spectator* (No. 155, August 28th, 1711).

In "long letters both from the Royal and New Exchanges," received by him, he remarks :

"They tell me that a young fop cannot buy a pair of gloves, but he is at the same time straining for some ingenious ribaldry to say to the young woman who helps them on. It is no small addition to the calamity, that the rogues buy as hard as the plainest and modestest customers they have; besides which, they loiter upon their counters half an hour longer than they need, to drive away other customers, who are to share their impertinencies with the milliner, or go to another shop."

In other parts of the same article he speaks in still plainer terms.

Jesse records that, "in the reign of Queen Anne, when country gentlemen brought their wives and daughters to London, they were in the habit of taking lodgings for them in the immediate vicinity of the New Exchange, as being the centre of the world of fashion" (vol. iii, p. 339). No reference to any authority is mentioned; but a similar statement appears in the works of Cunningham (vol. ii, p. 585), and of Thornbury (p. 100), where *Tatler*, No. 36, is noted as the source of information; but an examination of that work shows that nothing of the kind is related there. It is more probably based on the following dialogue, in Sir G. Etherege's play of *The Man of Mode, or Sir Fopling Flutter*, first acted at the Duke's Theatre in 1676 :

"*Mrs. Loveit.* Where do these Country Gentlewomen Lodge, I pray?
Bellinda . In the Strand, over against the Exchange.
Pert . That place is never without a Nest of 'em,
 They are always, as one goes by, flaring in Balconies, or
 Staring out of Windows." (Act v, Scene 1.)

It is, however, related in *Tatler*, No. 26, "that a certain Lady, who left her Coach at the New-Exchange Door in the Strand, whipt down Durham Yard into a Boat with a Young Gentleman for Fox-Hall." This simply points out its employment for purposes of assignation : one of several causes that lead to the failure of the building for trade purposes. Soon after the commencement of the eighteenth century, it gradually fell into disrepute ; fashion was migrating westward, and the stall-keepers began to find their holdings to be less profitable. A proof of its decadence was the introduction of a side-show, "The Complete Human Anatomy, in Wax," in the year before its dissolution (*The Mirror*, vol. xxxiv, p. 282).

Its closing scene is briefly told by Maitland, whose *History of London* was published in 1739—two years only after the building had become a thing of the past : "the same being of late deserted by the Mercers, and others who kept Shops therein, it was taken down in the year 1737;" and so terminated the career of Cecil's Britain's Burse, which had been opened with such a flourish of trumpets by his master, James I, nearly one hundred and thirty years before. Maitland adds, that on the site "is now erecting into handsome Dwelling-houses" (p. 737); so that no time was lost. According to Mr. Wheatley (*Antiquary*, vol. x, p. 12), "eleven houses were built upon its site, and the middle house was occupied by Mr. Middleton's bank (now Coutts's)."

Its success in the seventeenth century led to the institution of two other similar collections of shops in the immediate vicinity ; which, as they have been occasionally mistaken for the former, may be briefly alluded to here.

The Middle Exchange occupied a portion of Salisbury House, and consisted "of one large room . . . fitted up with shops on both sides." It "extended to the river, where there was a flight of steps for the use of passengers by water" (Walford's *London*, vol. iii, p. 101) ; probably the original stairs to Cecil's mansion. "The place seems to have borne anything but a good reputation," and "was pulled down, with the remains of great Salisbury House, about the year 1696."



Adelphi Buildings and Terrace,
erected on the site of Durham House.

(Illustration lent by Mr. Elliot Stock.)

Exeter 'Change dated from the latter part of the seventeenth century, and was built on the site of Exeter House on the north side of the Strand, eastward of the two others ; and, like them, consisted of small stalls or shops, tenanted by the same class of tradesmen. Failing in this, it suffered many vicissitudes ; and, after its occupancy by various exhibitions, of which the last was Cross's well-known menagerie, it was taken down in 1830. In the *H. E. D.*, under the article "Burse," it is confounded with the New Exchange.

As the present Adelphi buildings supplanted the town house of the Bishops of Durham, so the stabling and outbuildings of the latter gave way, first to the New Exchange, and afterwards to Coutts's bank, etc. And now another turn of fortune's wheel appears to be imminent. The lease of the bank is reported to be on the eve of expiration, and that the business will, in the near future, be carried on in other premises now in course of preparation. This, judging from what has taken place elsewhere, will result in the old banking-house and adjacent buildings being swept away, to be replaced by some large structure—perhaps an hotel—with highly-decorated façade, and having small, heavily-rented shops at the street level. On the great plot occupied by the Adelphi Terrace and superstructure, the London County Council are said to contemplate the erection of a large hall, etc., for their local Parliamentary deliberations. Should such be the case, it would imply the demolition of the main buildings ; but it would be a grievous sin for the massive arches which have supported them for so many years, and which are almost Roman-like in the solidity of their construction, to be ruthlessly sacrificed, as being unsuitable for the superstructure that is to be. They are excellent foundations to the present buildings, and are quite strong enough to bear the weight of the hall and offices which are reported to be needed. Their preservation should, therefore, be insisted on, in the code of directions that may be given by the Council to their architect.

Post Note.—Since this Paper was read, the London County Council have, in consequence of an adverse vote (as the result of a debate on the subject, at a meeting held on October 21st), decided to withdraw their scheme for the purchase of the Adelphi buildings, at all events for the present.

APPENDIX.

ORDERS FOR YE BURSE. (1609, Nov. ?.)

Inprimis no shop to be lett within ye said new building to any art, trade, science, or mistery, other than these following or such as shal bee noe annoyance to ye rest of ye shopkeepers ther, and allowed by writting under ye hand of the right hon^{ble} the Erle of Salisbury lord Treasurer of England, that is to say, Haberdashers of hatts, Haberdashers of smale wares, stockinsellers, Linen-drappers, Seamsters, Goldsmiths or Juellers but not to worke with hammer, such as sell china wares, Milliners, Perfumers, Si(1)ck-mercers, Tyremakers or Hoodmakers stationers Booksellers Confectioners, such as sell picktures, mapps or prints, Girdelers &c.

Item no shopkeeper to open shop on Christenmas day the Purification of the blessed virgin Easter hollidaies Whitson-hollidaies The nativity of St Jo. Baptist the feast day of All saints nor upon any sabboth day throughe out ye whole yeare.

Item from ye 25 day of March till ye 29 of September the dores & windowes to bee opened by 6 in ye morning & to bee shut by 8 att night: & from ye 29 of September till ye 25 of March, ye dores to bee open by seven in ye morning & shutt by seaven att night. These houres to bee duly kept except it bee upon some speciall occasion agreed on by the shopkeepers, or ye greater part of them.

Item my lord to mentione one sufficient man of honest & good report to bee housekeeper to make cleane & sweepe the house as often as shal be needfull, & to watch or keepe some to watch in ye nights & to see to the opening and shutting of ye dores, every shopkeeper in ye house allowing him 2^s by ye yeare.

Item all ye dores saving one to bee made fast on ye Inner syde & that one to have 3 locks & 3 keyes wherof the howskeeper to have one & the other 2 to bee kept by 2 of the Tenants quarterly & they to see ye shutting in of ye house themselves or in theyr absence to appoint some other.

These 2 men to be chosen by ye shopkeepers & they to collect ye forfeitures hereafter imposed and mentioned.

Item a bell to bee kept & maintained within the said new building by the said Erle & the same to bee rong by the howskeeper att xj of ye clock before dinner and half an howre before ye shopkeepers are to shutt up their shops att night & att ye

ringing thereof in ye evening every one to sweepe forth his shop & then ye houskeeper to sweepe & make cleane ye whole house, upon payne of every one that shall make default to forfait 4^d for every default which shal be imployed to ye use of ye pore, where and when ye Tenants of ye house shall think fitt.

Item a paire of stocks or some other publique punishment for such as shal be taken pilfering or stealing to bee mayntained by the said Erle.

Item no man to forstall his neighbour eyther by hanging forth any thing or setting forth in his stalle upon payne of forfeiture of 5^s for every default to bee levyd to ye use aforesaid.

Item no man to call any man that is buying or selling from an other mans stall, or to pull or hale any man as he cometh by to buy or sell as hee is going along by his stall upon payne to forfait for every offence 15^d which shal be likewise levyd & employed to ye use of ye poore.

Item if any strife or contention shal hapen betwixt any of the Tenants ye same to bee referred to 4 or 6 of ye rest to bee ended & both parties to stand to their award, hee that refuseth to pay for a forfeiture 40^s. which shal be likewise employed to ye use afforesaid.

Item no signe that shal be hanged out to hang furdur out into ye walk then another.

Item wheras many Maisters are not resident there, by meanes wherof there is great disorder by servants & apprentizes viz. hunting of doggs with greate noise & howling, playing att foyles & cudgles stricking ye balle (which breaketh ye windowes) buffitting & fighting one with another, to ye greate reproche of ye place & hinderance of traders there, bee it therefore by consent of my lord & every one of us confirmed that if hereafter any servant or apprentize in any of the ranges wher shoppes bee do comitt any such disorders that then the Mr of such person or personnes so offending shall uppon complaint made by ye 2 houskeepers for the tyme being in some private roome in the Burse appointed for the said purpose correct or beate their said servantes, in ye presence of ye said 2 houskeepers, or ells to pay presently for every offender 12^d to the use afforesaide.

Item if any shopkeepers eyther Maisters of (or ?) Mrs do braule scould or rayle on one another with reproachfull words or speeches, to the ill example of their servants, amazment of passengers & to the greate disgrace of themselves & thier nieghbors that then both & so many personnes so offending shall pay for every defalt 2^s 6^d ells to have their theyr (*sic*) signe taken downe by the 2 howskeepers for one weeke that such scould or scoulds may not be noted nor the Burse disgraced.

Item that if any do throw or powre out into the walk or range or outt att any of the windowes any noysome thing &c. that then

that person so offending shall pay for every default xij^d if it bee a servant then to have correction as afforesaid or theyr Mr or Mrs to pay 6^d for theyr default.

Item that all and every shopkeeper shall subscrib to these orders that for the good of the house they may be performed without partiallity, and that some course may bee to force the breakers of them to pay theyr fynes wee humbly entreate may be taken.

Item if any sell or offer to sell any ware in the howse except it bee to a shopkeeper the same party so offending to bee sett in the stockes for 2 howres and to have his wares taken from him to bee kept for a tyme to ye discretion of ye house or to be delivered to ye party offending as they shall thinke good.

Item my lord to find lights for the stairs and walkes his Executors and assignes.

Item whosoever of the Tenants shall keepe ye key of ye dores if the key bee not there ready by 6 a clock in ye morning they shall forfeit for every default viij^d to bee employed to ye use afforesaid.

Those things which ye keeper of ye Burse must have care of appointed by my lord att the errection thereof.

(The only regulations worth noting here are the following:—)

“To suffer none to fetch watter by ye staires or walks or carry coals or other caryng by ye watter gate to any of ye neighbours in ye streete but only for the shopkeepers howses save Mr Wilsons.

“To be obeydient to Mr Wilson's command in all things concerning ye said buisines.”

(*State Papers, Domestic, James I*, vol. xlix, p. 5.)





ON THE ARCHÆOLOGY OF WOAD :

AN ACCOUNT OF ITS HISTORY FROM EARLY TIMES TO THE
BEGINNING OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, WITH
REFERENCE TO THE PRINCIPAL BOOKS ON
THE SUBJECT.

BY CHARLES B. PLOWRIGHT, M.D.



HERE is but one locality in Great Britain where woad (*Isatis tinctoria*) is still grown as a regular crop, namely, the Fenland of Cambridgeshire and Lincolnshire. Here it is still possible to watch the plant growing, and the whole process of its manufacture ; an industry which has been carried on from remote antiquity in other European countries, and for centuries in our own.

The earliest references to woad as the source of a blue dye occur in the classics, the most familiar of these to us being that of Cæsar in his *Commentaries* on the Gallic Wars,¹ where he speaks of the inhabitants of this country staining themselves with woad (*vitrum*), which produced a blue colour, and gave them a more terrible appearance in battle. Pomponius Mela² confirms this statement of Cæsar's, using the same word *vitrum* for woad ; but he is more careful in assigning the reason for this practice : "whether for ornament or any other reason is not known." From Pliny³ we get a rather different version. He says : "There is a plant called in Gaul "*glastum*" with which the wives and daughters of the Britons smear their bodies in certain ceremonies" and become "the colour of

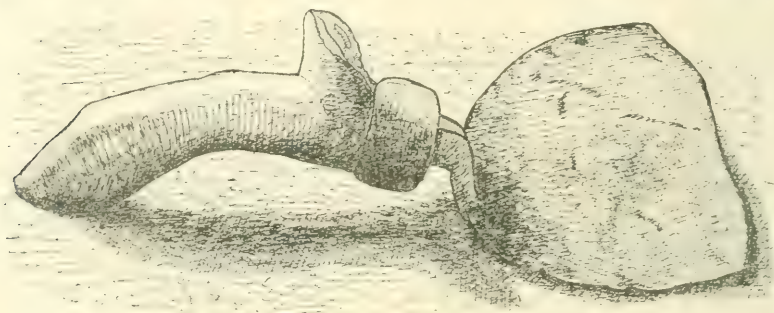
¹ Cæsar, "De Bello Gallico," Book v, chap. xiv.

² "Pomponius Mela," ii, 1.

³ Pliny, "Natural History," xxii, 2.

Ethiopians." Now the colour of Ethiopians is black, not blue, and it so happens that black is the colour with which the juice of fresh woad stains the hands of those who gather it—as may be seen any season in the Fenland. But Pliny¹ uses both words, *glastum* and *vitrum*.

In another place, speaking of indigo, which in these early times was imported in small quantities into Greece and Rome from India by the overland route, so that it was an article of great rarity and value, he refers to its being adulterated with chalk, and the excrement of pigeons stained with woad (*vitrum*). There is a curious connecting link between these two Latin words, *vitrum* and *glastum*, in the Celtic word "glas," which is in use



Woad-Spud, in use at Parson Drove, Cambs., 1900.

at the present day by the Welsh to denote a blue colour. Probably the Celtic word "glas" became Latinised into "glastum," hence the occasional employment of the Latin word for glass, viz., *vitrum*. Be this as it may, the association of the two words is interesting. The blue colour of woad is due to indigo, but the woad-plant (*Isatis tinctoria*), not only contains a very much smaller proportion than do the other indigo plants, such as *Indigofera tinctoria* and *Polygonum tinctoria*, but contains it in a state that is far more difficult to extract. Indigo is one of the most permanent vegetable colours; in the South Kensington Museum there are specimens of blue cloths dyed with it from an Egyptian mummy.

¹ Pliny, "Natural History," xxxv, 6.

Coming nearer home, Sir Thomas Wardle informs me that he was present some years ago at the opening of a barrow at Sheen, near Hartington, in which a considerable quantity of woad-indigo was found both in lumps and in powder; the sepulture, possibly, being that of a dyer.

References to the sale of woad in this country occur not infrequently in ancient documents. For example, in the records of the borough of King's Lynn, there is a roll probably made in the reign of Edward III, which is a copy of a much earlier document, the "*Composicio Lennae*," made between William de Raleigh, Bishop of Norwich, and Hugh D'Albini, the Earl of Arundel, in the year 1243. It shows the "*Custumies de la Tolboth de Lenn*," and sets forth in a schedule the dues payable upon various commodities. Under the heading "woad," or, as it was then called and is still by the woad-grower of the Fenlands, "wad," we have the following:—

WAD.			
Of ev ^y tonne wt wad	.	.	iiii <i>d</i> .
Of ev ^y frayel wad	.	.	iiii <i>d</i> .
Of di: a frayel	.	.	ij <i>d</i> .
Of j quart'	.	.	i <i>d</i> .
Of di: quart'	.	.	ob.
Benethe rizt not	.	.	wt. mi.

Dated a few years later (1286), an indenture still exists of an agreement between the citizens of Norwich and the woad merchants of Amiens and Corby, which was ratified before the "King's Itinerant Justices at Norwich, on 29th June," as to the dues payable to the city by these merchants. These dues were practically the same in amount as those payable at King's Lynn, viz., for every cask (*doleo*) of woad (*weydam*) fourpence, and for every basket (*fraillo*) the same sum.¹ It is interesting to remark that the same appellation for a basket is still in use in East Anglia, a "frail" basket being one constructed of the rush (*Scirpus lacustris*).

Again, in the Lynn Customs Rolls, 1302-1303, reference

¹ E. Corder, "On the Culture and Preparation of Woad." *Transactions of the Norfolk and Norwich Naturalist Society*, vol. v (1890), p. 153, where the document is translated *in extenso*.

is made to the import of 11 casks "wayd" from Amiens.¹

In 1317 we find that "Walter de Cotiller of Exeter lately bought five barrels of woad (*gaide*), price 140 good pounds of Tours at Elbeuf."² Whatever may have been the exact value of a "good pound of Tours," it seems as if woad commanded a good price in those days. In the following reign a record³ occurs to the effect that the "Sheriff of Southampton (was) to deliver to Geoffrey le Mouner of Amiens eight barrels of woad and 100 stones of weld seed." This is very interesting, as the name le Mouner, of Amiens, occurs as one of the signators of the Norwich Indenture some forty years before.

In the year 1415 the inhabitants of Coventry petitioned Parliament against the artifices of the dyers of that town, on the ground that⁴ "There is a confederacy and agreement in the mystery of the Dyers in the same town that none of the said Dyers will dye a dozen of cloth of common colour for less than 6s. or 8s. "whereas they used to dye in ordinary past years a dozen of such cloth for 5s. or 6s.; and further, if any of the goods were not sufficiently dyed or came out false, "they would not abate a 'denier' of their price nor amend it in their mystery," and also that the said Dyers are great and common cloth-makers in the same town, and use on their own cloth all the flower of the woad;" and the remainder which settles down "must serve the common people; to the great deceit, damage, and oppression as well of the common people living in the said town as of others round."

From the above three things appear: first, that the dyeing trade demanded better remuneration; second, that besides raising the prices, the dyers would not guarantee the process being successful. It is very unlikely that they would have demanded payment for failures, unless such were both frequent and more or less unavoidable. A series of experiments extending over some

¹ Richard Howlett, "Norfolk," *Antiquarian Miscellany* (1883).

² Close Roll, 11 Edward II (1317), m. 22.

³ Close Roll, 2 Edward III (1329), m. 9.

⁴ Petitions to Parliament, 3 Henry V (1415). For these references my thanks are due to Mr. Walter Rye, of Norwich.

months, made with the object of dyeing wool with woad alone, certainly makes the writer agree with the Coventry dyers on this score. . . . Third, the "flowre" of the woad being more valuable than the dregs is explained by the passage in Ruellius,¹ who in the following century gives us the first short and clear account of the preparation and uses of woad.

"They crush the green plant in mills so as to expel the vegetable juices, then when the moisture has been removed they make the woad up into large balls, and these they allow to lay on the floor and decay until they fall into ashes (dust). In many places they call woad "pastel," from the loaf-like shape into which the woad balls are made up. They heat the ashes (dust) of these balls in the vats of dyers' shops, and dip woollen cloths and skins therein that they may absorb the blue colour. The blue scum floating on the surface which the vats throw up when heated on the fire, our dyers call indigo; this they dry for the use of the painters."

These painters (*pictori*) were probably the illuminators of missals, for which purpose the blue from woad was largely used during the Middle Ages. We see, too, that the "flewre" of the woad was practically indigo.

The next writer on the subject is Crolach,² who published a small book entirely on woad, which is now very rare. In this he treats very fully of its history, its culture, and its preparation. He tells us, among other things, how much better it is to have woad-mills roofed in, so as to keep the woad-balls dry in rainy weather. He comments upon the danger of woad-crushing, and mentions the case of a man who became dizzy by constantly walking round with the horse, and, falling beneath the wheels, was killed. In his time girls were employed to make up the crushed plant into balls the size of one's fist. Crolach deprecates the adulteration of woad by allowing thistles to be crushed with the plant; and it is apparent that already the use of indigo was beginning to affect the woad industry, for the inhabitants of Thuringia were trying to revive woad culture.

¹ J. Ruellius, "*De Natura Stirpium*," Lib. II. Folio. Paris, 1536. p. 574. Ruellius, Basle, 1537, Lib. II, Cap. cxv, p. 434.

² H. Crolachius, "*Isatis Herba de Cultura Herba Isatis quam guadam vulgo vocant quamque Thuringia producit*." 12mo. Tiguri, 1557.

Reference is made to woad by most of the old herbalists, but mostly with regard to its supposed medical virtues. Thus Turner,¹ under "Vuadde," says it consists of two sorts: "The garden or sowed wadde and the wild or unsowed wadde," and quotes Dioscorides to the effect that "The leaves layde to after the manner of an em-plaster swage all kindes of swellinge. They join together greene woundes and stoppe ye runing out of blod." Dodoens² adds that it "is used to colour and dye cloth into blew." Parkinson³ adds this particular concerning the seeds, "which if they be a little chawed or broken with moysture will give a blue colour." At an earlier page (601) he gives an account of the preparation of indigo for Anil, as practised in the West Indies.

The best account of woad culture is given by Wedelius,⁴ in a small volume published at Jena, the object of which is to show that ammonia is contained in plants. A figure is given of two gigantic alembics, containing woad-balls giving off fumes of ammonia, which are being caught in receivers. The letterpress contains numerous examples of those curious chemical symbols, then in use to signify various substances, *e.g.*, sulphur, salt, tartar, etc.

Wedelius says at this time a third of the revenue of Thuringia arose from woad, and that this country was said to be noted for three products, wine, wheat, and woad, to which he suggests wool might be added. With regard to the culture of woad, he tells us that it grows best in those fields which had formerly grown flax, and that it requires deep ploughing and good manuring. He goes on to say that the land, which has been prepared by the plough in autumn, is left exposed to the winter rains till the Feast of the Purification of the Virgin Mary. It does not matter if the seed be new or old, provided it has not been injured by smoke; but it must not be sown too thickly, nor if there be too much snow

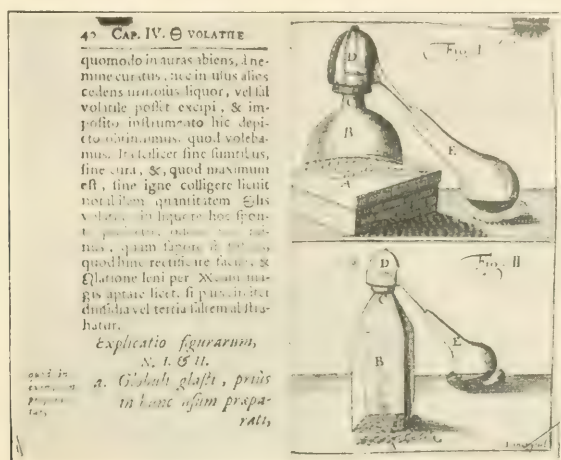
¹ Turner's "Herbal," 1568. Part II, p. 11. 4to. (Black Letter).

² D. R. Dodoens, "A new Herball Translated by Henry Lyte," 1619. 4to. p. 48.

³ "Theatrum Botanicum."—John Parkinson. fo. 1640. P. 660.

⁴ Wedelius, Georg Wolfgang. "De Sale Volatili Plantarum." 12mo. Jena. 1675. Chapters vii and viii.

on the ground. After an interval of two days, the seed is to be covered with earth by means of a harrow. After Pentecost it is to be carefully weeded, and after the Feast of St. John it ripens its first crop, as is shown by the tops of the leaves becoming yellow. The plant is cut down with a sickle, washed, dried, and taken to the mill on a wheelbarrow, where it is crushed, allowed to drain, and made into balls, which are allowed to dry upon hurdles (Horden). In this stage they give off ammoniacal fumes, but they do this even more freely after



Wedelius' Apparatus for collecting Ammonia (Sal volatile) given off from Woad. A. Woad-Balls. B. Appliances for covering the balls. C. The neck on which the glass Alembic is fitted. Connected with the receiver (cucurbit) E. The left hand shows a page from Wedelius's book, with chemical signs.

Θ=Sal. Θ volatile=Sal volatile.

XXcum. (9th line from bottom)=Alembicum.

Distillatione (9th line from bottom)=Distillatione.

they have been re-crushed and wetted. "Indeed, the 'sal-volatile' often fills not only the place in which the balls are kept, but the whole house and neighbourhood with its odour. Little drops, like dew, cling to the beams and walls and roof, and the sal-volatile, unless it be collected, escapes into the air. Finally, water having been poured upon the woad, it grows hotter and hotter

until it falls: not, as some affirm, into ashes, but into a coarse dust, suitable for the use of dyers."

After stating that a second crop may be gathered in about three weeks, and even a third (although he points out the inferiority of the latter), he shows that not only does woad yield a blue colour of its own, but supplies a sure foundation for other colours. He laments the importation of indigo in increasing quantities, although, as long ago as the previous century (1577), measures had been taken and a decree passed at Frankfort on behalf of the country at large, to prevent the fraud and injury caused by its substitution for woad; "and in the present year (1654), at Ratisbon, on April 21st, an edict was issued entailing the penalty of confiscation against the further importation of indigo." He concludes by a description of the mode of indigo-manufacture in the East and West Indies, hinting that indigo might be prepared from woad if the method were only known.

The above account by Wedelius was reproduced and duly acknowledged by Ray,¹ the first Professor of Botany at the University of Cambridge, in his *Historia Plantarum*, with the addition of a description of the process of manufacture as it was carried on in Cambridgeshire and Lincolnshire in his time, which is practically the same as now. From Ray this account was translated into the English edition of Tournefort's *Herbal*.²

In the English edition of Pomet's³ *History of Druggs*, woad is represented by three figures, one of which is *Isatis tinctoria*, the second *Reseda luteola*, and the third *Polygonum tinctoria*; and the letterpress description of its culture and preparation displays equal ignorance of the subject.

Ray,⁴ in the third edition of his "Synopsis," speaks of woad "being especially used for dyeing clothing a blue

¹ John Ray, "Historia Plantarum." Fol. 1686. Vol. i, p. 843.

² Tournefort, "The Complete Herbal, or Botanical Institutions of Mr. Tournefort." 4to. London, 1719. Vol. i, pp. 392-395.

³ Pomet, "History of Druggs." 4to. Vol. i, p. 91, Plate 36, Figs. 1, 2 and 3, 1712. Translated by Joseph Browne.

⁴ John Ray, "Synopsis Methodica Stirpium Britannicarum." Third Edition, vol. i, p. 307. 8vo. Pp. 307-308, 1724.

colour, although it itself does not furnish the blue colour, but is the basis and foundation of every other colour." This is practically the use of woad now, as a solvent of indigo, whatever blue colour it may itself be able to impart being entirely neglected by the dyer. Fabrics first dyed with a foundation colour of indigo rendered soluble by the means of woad, upon which subsequent colours are dyed, become "woaded fabrics," and as such possess very fast colours.

During the eighteenth century the culture and preparation of woad are given by most of the writers on Agriculture.¹ At the beginning of this period it was grown in many parts of England: between Bath and Bristol, between Barking and Grays in Essex, as well as in Warwickshire, Northamptonshire, Buckinghamshire, and many other places.² It was usually sown on freshly broken-up land, for which the cultivators paid large rents, generally near towns, where manure was easily obtained; but the woad-growers seldom stayed long in one place, for the best ground soon became exhausted, and after the second or third year seldom paid the expense of culture. These woad-cultivators were gangs of people who had been brought up in this industry, so that whole families travelled from place to place, wherever the principal fixed upon land suitable for the purpose.³ These itinerant "wadmen" existed down to our own times, and it is to them and their system of building these woad-mills and their own dwellings with sods from the newly-turned up pasture land, that the woad-mill at Parson Drove owes so much of its interest to the archæologist. At the end of the century we have an account of woad culture in Lincolnshire, from the pen of Arthur Young,⁴ in which he describes how it was carried on on Mr. Cartwright's farm at Brothertoft, near Boston, who

¹ William Ellis, "The Modern Husbandman," vol. iii, 1744, pp. 117-118.

² Samuel Trowel, "Treatise on Husbandry and Gardening." London, 1739.

³ P. Miller, *The Gardener's Dictionary*, 7th edition, 1759. Fol. Article "Woad."

⁴ A. Young, "General View of the Agriculture of Lincolnshire." 8vo.

grew about 200 acres annually. It was even then a rapidly declining industry, for "at one time woad fetched £25 per ton, but now it only fetches £9."

The process of manufacture and the technical words employed were then the same as they are now. Young concludes his account with the remark that the "demand for woad is now very limited, so that probably beside Mr. Cartwright and three other growers, there is not 50 tons per annum raised in the kingdom."

On the Continent some important works were published during this period, which was one when the failure of protective legislative measures was recognised, and an



Ranges for drying the Woad balls on Mr. Cartwright's farm at Brothertoft, near Boston, 1799 (from Arthur Young's book).

honest attempt made to keep the industry of woad culture alive by its own merits.

The use of woad as the source of a blue colour had ceased for more than a century, as for this purpose indigo had entirely superseded it; but there was no doubt that indigo dissolved by woad dyed woollens a far more permanent blue than was the case with any other process then known. The woad process was by no means simple, nor easy of application; and there is little doubt that the dyers did not go out of their way to make its details public. For example, in one of the earliest books written on dyeing,¹ the description of the use of woad is obscure to a degree. Some curious receipts are to be found in the

¹ Plietho's "Art of Dyeing."—John Ventura Rosetti, 1548.

eighteenth-century books. For instance,¹ in one directions are given for boiling woad and dipping cloth in it, which, if "blue before it is dipped, will become green; and, if white, olive-brown."

In the year 1750 the publication of Hellot's work² on dyeing gave a plain account of how to work a woad-vat. This book was translated into English with the works of other French dyers.³ Woad, as manufactured then, as now, had no indigo in it, and can therefore yield no blue colour; but by keeping it in water, heated to a uniform temperature, somewhere between 100 deg. and 150 deg. Fahr. for fifteen to twenty hours, a small percentage of indigo is formed. The presence of a trace of lime renders the indigo soluble, and therefore capable of imparting a blue colour to woollen articles immersed in it. The dyers soon found that, by adding a little indigo to the woad-vat, not only was it dissolved, but the goods dyed were of a brighter and equally permanent colour.

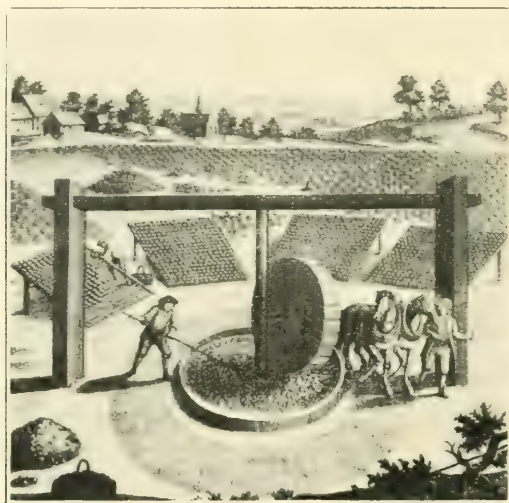
A woad-indigo vat once started can be worked for weeks if it be kept at the right temperature, and the indigo replenished from time to time as it is removed on the dyed goods, the fermentative process being maintained by adding very small quantities of bran and slaked lime. This process is difficult to manage; but it was possible even in those days to carry it out domestically, perhaps even more easily than now, for the wood-fire and wood-ashes, which were practically never allowed to go out, enabled the housewife to keep a woad-pot continuously and uniformly warm. In the Highlands of Scotland indigo is still dissolved—or, as the chemists say, reduced to its soluble form, indigo white—by this means: that is, keeping it moderately warm day and night, in a vessel containing urine, placed among the peat ashes.

¹ "Art's Treasury of Rarities and Curious Inventions, containing the Mystery of Dyeing Cloth, Silk, and Other Things." 12mo. Glasgow, 1773.

² Hellot, "*L'Art de la Teinture*," 1750.

³ "The Art of Dyeing Wool, Silk, and Cotton," 8vo. London, 1789.

In 1752, Schreber's monograph¹ on woad appeared, published at Halle. This book brought up to date all that was known about the culture, the history, and the use of woad, and is by far the most comprehensive work on the subject extant. It is illustrated with plates of the woad-plant, and has a quaint frontispiece, showing a Thuringian woad-mill at work. Possibly this last-named picture was suggested by a very rough sketch of a Languedoc woad-mill and pastel mould, that had appeared a few years before.²



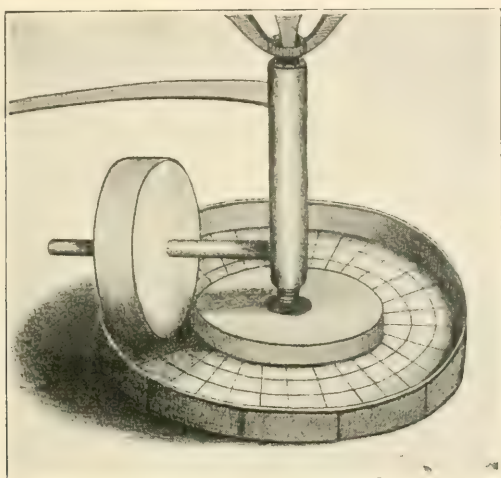
Woodcut from Schreber's book, showing the whole process of Woad Culture and Preparation in Thuringia (1752): viz., a field of Woad, with three figures gathering the leaves; Heap of gathered leaves; The Mill: with ranges or racks behind, on which the Woad Balls are drying. In the left-hand bottom corn a heap of crushed Woad and a basket of balls are shown; and, on opposite side, the little Woad Spud, of the same form, but with a differently-shaped handle, as is now used at Parson Drove, Cambs.

At the end of the eighteenth and at the beginning of the nineteenth century, political events took place

¹ D. G. Schreber, "Historische, Physiche, und Oeconomische Beschreibung der Waidtes." Halle, 1752. 4to. Four plates.

² Mons. Astruc, "Mémoires de la Histoire du Languedoc." 4to. Paris, 1737. Pp. 330, 331.

in Europe which had an important bearing on woad-culture. The Continent was devastated by war: the progress of civilisation was so far arrested that, instead of obtaining the comforts and luxuries from foreign lands, each country had to be content with its own products. The importation of indigo was greatly impeded and reduced; so that, by the culture of woad, endeavours were made to supplement it. Rewards were offered by certain Governments—notably, that of France, for an efficient substitute for indigo which could be cultivated in



Languedoc Woad Mill. From Astruc's book, 1737.

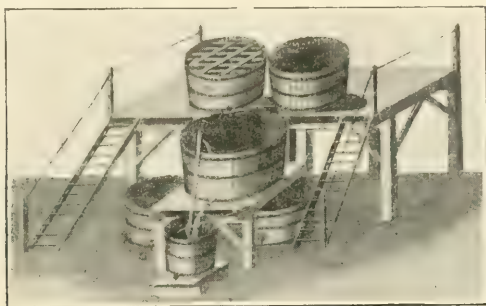
temperate regions. Attention was re-directed to woad, and numerous processes proposed for the extraction of indigo from it. It was palpable that if the indigo could be got from woad, it might be employed in the same manner as exotic indigo. Two things, however, prevented the practical accomplishment of this project: first, because the quantity of indigo in woad is only very small; second, because it does not exist as indigo in this plant, but in the form of an extremely unstable organic compound which cannot be extracted by such simple processes as are available with the indigo plants of warmer climates. Indigo is obtained from *Indigofera tinctoria*

by simply soaking the leaves in cold water for a few hours, and agitating the contents of the macerating vat, running them off and allowing the indigo to settle. *Isatis tinctoria* will not yield its indigo to any such simple method. A certain quantity can be obtained by infusing the fresh leaves, adding an alkali, and precipitating with a dilute acid. The indigo thus obtained is very variable in quantity, and a large proportion of it is not true indigo at all—in point of fact, no practical method has yet been discovered which can be relied upon for extracting indigo from woad outside the chemist's laboratory.

After Wedelius (1675), one of the earliest writers to suggest the possibility of the separation of indigo from woad in order to substitute it for foreign indigo, was the German chemist named Justi; in France, experiments were made by Astruc in 1737. Hellot (1750) was also enamoured by the idea. Borth, in 1754, published a process in *Gazette de Halle*. The Academy of Göttingen offered a prize for its accomplishment, which Kulenkamp, of Bremen, gained in 1755. Eddele, in 1756, published a work, *De Indo Germanico ex Glasto*. In the first volume of the *Bibliothèque Medico-Physique du Nord* there is a full account of the method of Green. M. Morrina actually started a large manufactory at Naples, under the patronage of the King. The Swiss Academy offered a prize for the same object in 1791, which Morrina obtained. Kulenkamp's process was by infusion; Morrina's by fermentation; Dambournay's by caustic alkalies; Nazarow's, in 1810, by infusion and precipitation with sulphuric acid; Cioni's, in 1812, by water below boiling-point; Pavie's, of Rouen, in 1811, by maceration for twelve hours, and then raising the temperature to 80 deg. or 90 deg., by hot air outside the vat—mixing the liquor with lime-water, and agitating. Michelotti, of Turin, in 1811 suggested the use of water acidulated with various acids; while Dive and Darrag, of Mont-de-Marsan, contended for the superiority of hydrochloric acid. Bonifico's method consisted in first removing the mucilage, by washing the leaves for five minutes with water at 160 deg.

In 1810 an important pamphlet was published in Italian by Di Puymaurin,¹ in which the whole subject was dealt with as regards history, culture, preparation, but especially indigo-extraction. This was almost immediately translated into French.² For the opportunity of seeing these Italian pamphlets my thanks are due to Prof. Penzig, of Genoa, and to Miss Bessie Black for their translation.

In 1812 Heinrich's³ more pretentious work appeared, written evidently with all the enthusiasm of a discoverer. His process consisted in macerating the dried or wilted leaves for ten hours, then mixing the liquor with an equal bulk of lime-water, and ærating by means of a hand-pump.



Heinrich's Apparatus for extracting Indigo from partially-dried Woad leaves. The leaves were placed in the upper tub (No. 1), being held under the water by the cross-splines. No. 2 contained lime-water. The contents of these two tubs were, after a time, allowed to run into No. 3. From No. 3 a portion of the mixed fluids was run into No. 4, the lowest tub in the centre of the picture, from which they were raised by a hand-pump again into No. 3. This was carried on until all the indigo was precipitated; it was then run off into the two tubs (5, 5), on either side.

He gives a figure of the necessary vats, which bears a striking resemblance to the indigo vats figured by Pomet.⁴

¹ Di Puymaurin, "Notizia intorno al guado (*Isatis tinctoria*) della sua coltura, a de mezzi d'estrarne l'indaco," Milan, 1810. 8vo. Pp. 50; "Instruzione sulla coltura e preparazione del guado e sulla estrazione dell' Indaco. Extracted from the *Moniteur*, Nos. 86, 87, and 89. 1812.

² M. le Chev. De Puymaurin, "Instruction sur l'art d'extraire l'indigo contenu dans les feuilles du pastel." Paris, 1813. 8vo. Pp. 42.

³ J. B. Heinrich, "Abhandlung über du Cultur des Waides." Wein, 1812. 4to. 58 pp. Four copper-plates.

⁴ Pomet, "History of Druggs," English translation, 1712, Plate 35.

For the opportunity of perusing Heinrich's work my thanks are due to Dr. Hans Molisch, of Prague.

In 1813, Professor Giobert, of Turin,¹ published his book on the extraction of indigo from woad "By order of His Royal and Imperial Majesty," which was printed at the "Imperial Press." This is a much more pretentious work, in which the various processes for extracting indigo from woad are given more or less fully, including that "one which was preferable to all others." This consisted in pouring boiling water on the fresh leaves, leaving them in it for five or six minutes, then running off the hot water, pouring in cold water, leaving them to soak for twenty minutes and ærating the mixed liquors by beating, either with a proper machine provided with a paddle-wheel apparatus, or more simply with a broom, until a blue precipitate falls. A large part of the book is devoted to the chemistry of the subject, for Giobert was not only the Director of the Imperial School for the Fabrication of Indigo, but also Professor of Chemistry at Turin.

For the reasons previously stated, none of these processes were commercially successful, and woad has been gradually less and less grown. New processes have been introduced by which the solution of indigo can be more readily accomplished; but although quicker, easier, and cheaper, none of them can produce an article so fast and permanent in colour as a real woaded cloth. For those who can and will pay the price, this is still manufactured. The recent synthetical manufacture of indigo itself will probably in the near future materially reduce the output of the natural dye-stuff; but if indigo culture survives as long as woad culture has done, the present generation is not likely to see the end of it.

¹ M. Giobert, "Traité sur le pastel et l'extraction de son indigo." Paris, 1813. 8vo. Pp. 411, Four Plates.





THE CASTLE OF DUNSTANBURGH.

BY C. H. COMPTON, ESQ., V.-P.

(Read February 4th, 1903.)



Our last meeting, on January 28th, Mr. Forster exhibited a series of photographic views of Dunstanburgh Castle, or rather, what remains of it, situate about two miles north of Howick, and about ten miles south of Bamborough, on the eastern coast of Northumberland. He did not give any account of the history of the Castle, and it may therefore be interesting to trace that history, as far as it can be collected from the authorities, on the present occasion.

There is some confusion between this Castle and the more important city and Castle of Bamborough, in the accounts of the Early Chronicles, which it is well to clear away before confining our attention to the immediate subject before us. Camden, in his original edition, referring to Polydore Virgil,¹ says: "This Castle some have mistaken for Bebban, which stands further north, and which, instead of Bebbanburgh, is now called Bamborough; our countryman Bede, speaking of the Castle being besieged and burnt by Penda the Mercian, says, etc.;" and he then follows with an account of Bamborough, though "the Castle" would grammatically refer to the castle he was writing about. This is made clear by Gibson, in the additions to Camden, in the second edition of his translation, where he thus describes Dunstanburgh:²

¹ Lib. iv, p. 80.

² Vol. iii, p. 258, Ed. 1789. The original edition by Camden is not dated.

"Dunstanborough, two miles beyond Howick hard on the sea shore, stands on a high stone rock. The Castle is more than half a mile in compass, and there hath been great building in it [Leland, vii, 76]. It covers an eminence of four or five acres sloping to the sea, and within its area is said to have produced 240 Winchester bushels of corn besides several loads of hay. A kind of spar is found here called Dunstanburgh diamonds, said to rival that of St. Vincent's Rock, near Bristol."

And Mr. Wallis, in his *History of the Antiquities of Northumberland*, adds to this description :

"That it stands on an eminence edged to the north and north-west with precipices in the form of a crescent, by the western termination of which are three natural stone pyramids of a considerable height, and by the eastern one an opening in the rocks made by the sea, under a frightful precipice called Rumble Churn, from the breaking of the waves in tempestuous weather and high seas. Above this is the main entrance, and by it the ruins of the chapel : at the south-west corner is the draw-well, partly filled up. It is built with whin and rag-stone."

The Castle, with the manor, was the seat and estate of Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, a younger son of King Henry III. From him it devolved to his son and heir, Thomas, who in the 9th Edward II obtained a licence from the King to crenelate or fortify his manor house ; and accordingly about that time built this Castle. This Earl Thomas, by the union of the four earldoms of Lincoln, Leicester, Salisbury and Derby, with his own of Lancaster, as well as by his royal blood, stood at the head of the English Baronage. He headed the association of the chief nobility for the expulsion of Piers Gaveston, but was reconciled to the King in the tenth year of his reign. This reconciliation was of no long continuance, for within a few years he again appeared in arms at the head of the confederated Barons, in order to remove the Spensers. The Earl, who had retired to his castle at Pontefract, was advised to march to Dunstanburgh Castle, but near Boroughbridge, in Yorkshire, was met and defeated by William, Lord Latimer, and Sir Andrew Hercla, of Carlisle, at the head of a body of the country people, and taken prisoner and conducted to

his castle at Pontefract, where the King and the two Spensers then lay.

He was summarily tried and executed, the circumstances attending which are recorded in an ancient chronicle, written in French by William de Pakington, clerk and treasurer to Prince Edward, son to Edward III, translated by Leland, and printed in his *Collectanea*.¹

In the fifteenth year of King Edward II is the following entry :—

“15 Edw. II, R. Assignavit Rogū de Horsle senescallum R. in Com’ Northumbr’ ad Castrum de Dunstanburg cum ptin qd fuit Thome Com Lancast’.”

In the Close Rolls, 18 Edward II (1325), March 12th, is an—

“Order to cause allowance to be made to Rich’ de Ernelton, to whom the King lately committed the custody of all the castles and lands in co. Northumberland that belonged to Thomas, late Earl of Lancaster, and to other rebels, for his expenses about the repairs of Dunstanburgh Castle which belonged to the said Earl, according to the inquisition that the King caused to be made, a copy whereof he sends to them *sub pede sigilli*.²

And in the following year, 19 Edward II (1326), April 29th,² is an order to Henry de Lancastria, Earl of Leicester :—

“To cause his Castle of Dunstanburgh to be provided and fortified with men at arms, victuals, armour, and other necessities, certifying the King without delay of the number of men at arms thus placed by him in the said Castle, as the King understands that certain of the Scotch rebels have, without the consent of the magnates of Scotland, as the King believes, lately entered the realm in those parts by night, and have endeavoured to surprise certain castles and fortlets in those parts, and propose to invade those parts and others in the Marches of Scotland in greater multitude. It is provided, however, that nothing shall be attempted contrary to the form of the truce between the King and the Scots, which the King wills shall be observed so far as lies in his power.”

Henry, younger brother to Earl Thomas, by a petition to Parliament, obtained a restitution of all the seignories,

¹ Grosse, *Antiq.*, vol. iii

² M. R. Series, p. 269 ; 2, *id.*, p. 476.

honours, and lands, lately belonging to the Earl, including the Castle, for which he did homage. He bequeathed them to his son Henry, who was created Duke of Lancaster in 1351. He left only two daughters, co-heirs, Maud and Blanch.¹ The latter married John of Gaunt, Earl of Richmond, who, shortly after, by the death of her sister, became possessed of the whole estate, as well as the Dukedom of Lancaster, in right of his wife.

When he came into possession, he built a new gate-house with a barbican and drawbridge, and a postern to the Castle. He died in 1394, and was succeeded by his son Henry, afterwards Henry IV. On his accession to the throne (1399), the Castle became Crown property, and continued during the Wars of the Roses a Lancastrian stronghold. After the battle of Towton (1461), it was provisioned, and manned with an English, French, and Scotch garrison.

There is a MS., which was in the possession of Robert Surtees, of Mainsworth, containing a list of the names of all the castles and towers in the county of Northumberland, with the names of their proprietors, made about the year 1460, printed in Hodgson's *History of Northumberland*,² in which this Castle is thus entered :—

“Castrum de Dunstanburgh—Dni Ducis Lancastrie.”

Followed by—

“Castrum de Bramburghe D'ni Regis.”

And in a list of escheats, 1 Edw. III, num. 122 :—

“Henricus Dux Lancast' Dunstanburgh Castr'.”

And in a “Calendar of Post-Mortem Inquisitions, otherwise called Escheats, from the beginning of the reign of Rich. II to the end of that of Rich. III,” are the following entries :—

¹ So say Grosse and Hume, in his *Genealogical Table* (“Students' Hume,” p. 170a); but Sir J. D. Mackenzie, in *Castles of England*, vol. ii, says three, but gives no name or authority.

² Part III, vol. i, p. 26.

“Anno primo Henrici Quinti.
 Num. 31. Bertr Monboucher—Dunstanborough Domin’.
 Anno 21 Henrici Sexti
 Rad’us Gray Miles Dunstanborough.”

In October, 1464, Queen Margaret invaded England, and divided her forces between Alnwick, Bamborough, and Dunstanburgh. Edward IV marched North to attack these castles, and the siege of Dunstanburgh was committed to the Earl of Worcester and Sir Ralph Grey. The Castle capitulated honourably at Christmas, and was, together with Bamborough, placed under the custody of Sir Ralph Percy, on his swearing allegiance to King Edward; but this did not prevent him from yielding both places to the Lancastrians in the ensuing spring.¹

After the battle of Hexham, Sir Peter de Bressey and five hundred Frenchmen, taking shelter in Dunstanburgh, were besieged by Ralph Lord Ogle, Edmund and Richard de Craster, John Manners, and Gilbert de Errington, partizans of the House of York. After a vigorous defence, all the garrison, except Sir Peter, were made prisoners; and the Castle, which had been much damaged in the siege, was totally dismantled, and its Captain, John Gosse, was carried to York and beheaded, when the Earl of Warwick entered as victor.²

In 1538 (29 Henry VIII), the Royal Commissioners, consisting of Bellasis and Horsely, reported as to this Castle, as a very ruinous house, and of small strength; and the following extract from a “Booke of the State of the Frontiers and Marches betwixt England and Scotland, written by Sir Robert Bowes, Knt., at the request of the Lord Marquis Dorsett, the Warden General, 1550, Ed. VI,”³ shows the condition the castle was then in.

“The Castle of Dunstanbrough is in wonderfull great decaye, and the utter wall thereof might be repayred with no great charge, and also the Gate-house and a house for a Constable. And then, surely, it would be a great refuge to the inhabitants of those

¹ Mackenzie's *Castles of England*, vol. ii, ante.

² See Grosse and Mackenzie.

³ *Cotton MS.*, Titus, f. 13.

parts, yff enemies came to annoy them, either arriving by sea or coming by lande out of Scotland. Soe that they brought no great ordynaunce or power to remayne any longe tyme there."

From a report made in Queen Elizabeth's reign, it would seem that no efforts were made to repair the Castle. It was granted on February 6th, 22 James I (1625), to Sir William Grey, Baron of Wark, and confirmed by William III, December 20th, 1694. It was in 1794 the property of the Earl of Tankerville, who sold it in 1869 to the Trustees of Mr. Samuel Eyres, of Leeds.¹

¹ See Grosse and Mackenzie.





THE "GALILEE" CONSIDERED AS A PLACE OF SANCTUARY ;

WITH A SUGGESTION AS TO THE TERM "GALILEE," AND
SOME REMARKS ON THE SO-CALLED
"SANCTUARY KNOCKER."

BY REV. C. H. EVELYN-WHITE, F.S.A.



It has long been felt that some more appropriate and satisfactory interpretation of the term "Galilee," as applied to that portion of cathedral or parochial churches at the west end of the building, as at Durham, Ely, and elsewhere, is needed. With this end in view, the following suggestions and observations are offered.

It may be assumed that the "Galilee" was an extension of the original structure, an addition designed to meet some emergency. At all events, the name by which such a western porch and its adjuncts is known is peculiar, and cannot be without significance. Viollet le Duc has pointed out that the additions to so many churches of narthex halls or great-aisled porches is to be ascribed to a Cluniac revival of certain disciplinary functions, which had to be performed outside the church proper, and for which housing accommodation would be required. This is a noticeable feature in Cluniac minsters in Northern France. The character and style of the main building is usually followed, with occasional important deviations, offering endless variety in plan. The church of Durham possesses in its "Galilee" a magnificent chapel; Ely, a fine western porch; Peterborough and Lincoln, a great west transept; a parish church like that of St. Gregory, Norwich, its west Galilee porch, north and

south chapels (porches with chambers over);¹ while not a few, of which Bury, near Ramsey, Hunts., is an instance, are ruined, but bear interesting traces of their former character and use. The atrium, or ante-church of the Cluniac edifice, pointing as it does to the outer court of the Gentiles (the "Galilee" of the Jewish Temple), has been held to furnish a clue to our use of the expression as applied to these western additions. That important volume, the *Rites and Monuments of the Church of Durham*,² contains a reference to the "Gallely" (the chapel of St. Mary), as a name given "by reason (accordinge as some thinke) of the *translatinge* of the same³ once begun and afterwards removed, whereupon it tooke the name of Gallely, to which place such as maid repaire unto it had granted unto them sundry pardons, as more plainly appereth in a table there sette up, conteyning the said pardons." This is what I am inclined to term a *rotary* explanation, for the idea of transfer, while it is said to have suggested by Jerome's use of "Galgala" (as *rota, revolutio*) and "Galilæa" (as *volubilis*, founded on the Hebrew *Galal*, "to roll," hence to remove), would scarcely explain the term "Galilee" as applied to buildings elsewhere than at Durham.⁴ A Durham MS., quoted by Hutchinson, also by Macro in his *Lexicon*, finds an explanation in the Sunday procession which wended its way to and from the west entrance in memory of the Apostles' journey, in obedience to the Angel's words to meet the Lord in Galilee: "He goeth before you *into* Galilee." The Easter Sunday procession was specially commemorative of this event, and the last station terminated at the Galilee.⁵ Martene refers it to the *Galilee of the Gentiles*, as being the most remote part of the church, distant from the altar and less regarded as

¹ The several East Coast churches of (a) Snettisham (the Galilee of which is entered by three arches), (b) Cley, (c) Cromer, and (d) Mutford, furnish examples.

² Surtees Society, 1842, p. 37.

³ The transposition of the eastern chapel to its western side.

⁴ The name "Galilæa" in Holy Scripture is derived from the Hebrew *Galél*, a circuit, region.

⁵ This illustrates the *gladness of redemption*, a thought present to my mind in relation to one aspect of the suggestion I shall make respecting a new derivation of the word "Galilee."

a sacred place. Here the uncommunicate or excommunicate—the laity generally, in fact—would stand to watch the processions. Here, again, bodies of deceased persons awaiting interment would perhaps be placed. All this points, I venture to suggest, to the idea of bondage and pollution, and as such is intimately associated with the derivation of the word “Galilee” that I am about to propose. The “Galilee” was essentially a place of repentance, which many sought carefully with tears; such a spot was a necessity in days when folk were not averse to make proof of sorrow for transgression in a way that involved humiliation; and if, as seems likely, scandal put a stop to certain phases of these expressions of contrition, there were still many ways in which the “Galilee” embraced the children of sorrow.¹ While I am by no means disinclined to regard the “Galilee” as typical of “Galilee of the Gentiles” (for it is specially suggestive of separation, exclusion, and distance), yet, I think, a more exact and intelligent way of regarding the term is open to us.

The Dean of Ely (Dr. Stubbs), in the preparation of some work relating to the Cathedral, invited me to suggest a meaning of the word “Galilee,” just at a time when the expression was interesting me. Similarly, a former vicar of St. Gregory’s, Norwich (the late Rev. John Jessopp) had previously made a like inquiry of me, in connection with what is known as the “Galilee” and “Sanctuary Chambers” appertaining to that interesting church. My explanation is briefly as follows:—

The term “Galilee” has an intimate connection with “Sanctuary,” regarded as a place of refuge for such as had shed blood, or in other ways had broken the country’s laws. This connection, which clearly is seen in regard to Durham and St. Gregory’s, Norwich, has scarcely been appreciated. There is also at Ely sufficient proof that chambers formerly existed as portions of the “Galilee,” and I have not the slightest doubt were in use for sanctuary purposes. All churches doubtless enjoyed sanctuary

¹ A singular illustration of the use of the word “Galilee,” as applied to a structure, is found in the application of any woman desirous of seeing an inmate of the convent related to her, who received for answer, “he (the monk) goeth before you into Galilee” (the place for interviews).

privileges in mediæval times, or, at least, afforded temporary protection to the outcast. The intercession of the clergy could, at all events, be counted on. Besides, was not the Church the natural place of refuge? A district like the Fen country would doubtless be largely resorted to by those who would claim the sanctuary offered by the Church of Ely. Just as Durham, privileged in a marked degree on account of the shrine of St. Cuthbert, afforded security in the border land of the North country, so the mother-church of Ely in like manner offered a harbour of safety, possessing as it did the honoured remains of St. Etheldreda, the immunity and liberty of whose church the refugee would claim with confidence. From the Patent Rolls of 17 Edward III, we learn that a certain clerk, one John de Wenlyngborough, took sanctuary at Ely (A.D. 1343). The King was petitioned in his behalf, inasmuch as he, "for certain trespasses laid to his charge by his enemies, not involving loss of life or limb, has for a long time held himself in the Cathedral Church of Ely, and dare not leave that church on account of the plots and threats of his said enemies," and begged for relief. The Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Chichester became security for Wenlyngborough to appear before the King and Council when required. Order was accordingly made that the serjeant-at-arms should go to Ely, and take the clerk out of his asylum if he so desired, and deliver him into the custody of Archbishop and Bishop. This is a case which, I think, may be advanced in favour of my contention that the Galilee Chambers at Ely were really places of sanctuary, although not hitherto so noted. The Sanctuary proper is, of course, that part of the church pertaining to the altar, where at one time right of protection would be certainly found. In this sense we find Theodosius and Valentinian in their famous Edict using the expression *θυσιαστήριον* = an altar, when the desire was to regard the place as essentially a sanctuary. But the idea could manifestly no longer remain when the surroundings became so greatly changed. The idea then intimately associated with sanctuary, viz., that of *separation*, forces itself upon us. The place was that which signalised *dismemberment* from the outside world, a

retreat where no avenger could molest. So much then for the term *Sanctuary*. We pass now to an examination of a suggested interpretation of the word *Galilee*.

I am sanguine enough to think, however fanciful my suggestion may appear to some, to others it will at least seem probable. It is the only explanation that combines in the one word "Galilee" a definition that is at once appropriate and intelligible. It will readily be conceded that we occasionally find English words derived from Hebrew roots, veiled, it may be, under the disguise of Time's thick mantle, but yet sufficiently obvious in meaning when impartially examined. Certainly, it is not idle to look for the derivation of a mediæval word from the Hebrew. The word "Galilee," as applied to the western portion of a church, finds a forcible derivative in the Hebrew root *gal* (the blood-avenger), the primary meaning of which is *to redeem*. This use is frequent in relation to God's redemption of man, as from Egyptian and Babylonish bondage. Further, *Gaal*, when followed, as often is the case, by the Hebrew word *dam*, which signifies *to avenge bloodshed, to require the penalty*, offers additional evidence, and we are at once put in possession of the leading ideas connected with *sanctuary*. Neither is this all: *Gaal* has a further meaning in relation to *pollution*, indicating removal, as of a priest, on account of impurity, giving emphasis, I think, to the custom of placing penitents apart. The idea of man's redemption, connected as it is with removal on account of pollution, seems to me to suggest a feasible interpretation. It is not, I think, difficult to understand how, in process of time, the original form of the Hebrew word would pass into the somewhat meaningless but more comprehensible term, "Galilee." Many such instances are known.¹ It is no sufficient answer to allege that the mediæval monks were innocent of Hebrew. I have only to point to the famous Benedictine house at Ramsey, where in the thirteenth century several of the inmates,

¹ A cognate word, of some importance in its bearing on our investigation, may perhaps be found in the French *geôle* = a place of retention (cf. *gaulle* = a pole fixed into the ground), also in our English, *gaol*.

including Prior Gregory (died 1280), were distinguished as Hebrew scholars, while the library was rich in Hebrew books.¹

It is now necessary to establish the connection of "Galilee" with the term "Sanctuary." They are intimate in association, to exemplify which I shall best serve my purpose if I point to a marked feature of known examples of undoubted "Galilees," *e.g.*, Durham and Ely cathedrals, and the parish church of St. Gregory, Norwich. Dissimilar as these Galilees are, they now or at one time possessed chambers or rooms above. The spacious building at Durham, with its five aisles and three altars, had over the north door two chambers for the accommodation of fugitives, in which men slept, ready at any hour to receive the distressed. At Norwich Cathedral (which has no proper "Galilee" but a famous place of sanctuary) there was, over a chapel corresponding to a Galilee chapel, an upper room at the south-east of the building known as the "Sanctuary Men's Chamber," and a certain lay officer of the convent was "Keeper of the Sanctuary."²

Precisely similar conditions ruled elsewhere, and I take it that "Galilee" and "Sanctuary" were interchangeable terms. In the Norwich church of St. Gregory (pre-eminent as a Sanctuary church) the "Galilee is connected with north and south chapel (porches), having sanctuary chambers above, communicating with the bell-tower. To these

¹ It is also worth notice that Thomas, the Ely monk who compiled the ancient record of that church known as the *Liber Eliensis*, gives the interesting, but not generally received derivation of the place-name Ely, from the Hebrew *El* = God, and the Greek *ge* = land – *the land of God*; substituting *ey* = isle for the less satisfactory Greek ending, there is nothing to hinder our acceptance of the Hebrew formation in preference to "the Isle of Eels," notwithstanding that the Ven. Bede, in the words *nomen accipit a copia anguillarum*, has given it a sanction that has led to wellnigh universal adoption.

² A remarkable case is on the Coroner's Rolls at Norwich, of a man condemned in the Court there holden, to be hanged (*suspendatur per collum*), who, being taken down for dead, was carried in a coffin to the church of St. George Tombland, for burial, but was found to be alive. After fifteen days he recovered, and fled to the adjacent cathedral church for sanctuary. Upon his suit, the King pardoned him (13 Edw. III). The Sanctuary Chamber was his place of refuge, and the Sanctuary Keeper his custodian, until this form of release was effected.

chambers there are two separate approaches (by flights of stone stairs) from within the church on the south-west, and through one of the chapels on the north-west. Moreover, on the south-west door there was formerly fixed the *Sanctuary-knocker* (so called), concerning which I shall have something to say further on. "Galilee" and "Sanctuary," in fact, as I understand the terms, were synonymous.

The "Galilee" at Ely,¹ beside its porch and transept, had an upper hall or chamber, used undoubtedly for sanctuary purposes. It may be assumed that large western porches, with rooms above, were mainly places of sanctuary—"Galilee" and "Sanctuary" in combination. At Ely the entire west transept formed the Galilee of the church, the southern arm of which was a continuation of the Norman work completed by Bishop Ridel. Bishop Eustace (A.D. 1200) built the north end of this west transept. This was distinguished as the "New Galilee," but the present west porch is clearly the work of a later age, and took the place of the earlier work. Dr. Tanner, in his *Survey of Cathedrals* (1727), applied the term "Galilee" to the western transepts or whole cross side of the church. It is observable that the upper portion, or top storey of the porch, shows on either side an arched passage in the thickness of the wall,² which opened into the room above mentioned; this was lighted by narrow lancet windows. Entrance was obtained through a doorway on the outside southern wall.³ The steps by which access to this room was had have been removed; for on this southern side formerly stood the church workhouse, which doubtless necessitated clearing away the flight of stairs that must formerly have existed. In old plans this portion is referred to as the *South Galilee*, while the corresponding area on the north side of the tower is

¹ I venture to assert that in former days identically the same features that existed at St. Gregory's, Norwich, prevailed here.

² Query, Sanctuary Cells.

³ The building known as the "Galilee" is scarcely ever referred to in the early records of the Church. In 42 Edw. III (A.D. 1368-9) the Sacrist paid for nets to keep out the birds, which clearly implies the existence of the upper chambers, in which probably there was a campanile.

marked "ruined part of the *Galilee*." Of the process of dilapidation we know nothing. The entire arrangement is to my mind suggestive of a use that has been allowed to pass out of mind, viz., sanctuary use. When connected—as I think it should be—with the meaning where-with I have endeavoured to invest the term "*Galilee*," this may be said to find some measure of revival. It is, at all events, an etymology that gives expression to the well-nigh obsolete story of mediæval sanctuary, and is, I venture to say, instinct with life. I am not unmindful of the fact that fanciful etymologies and imaginary connections are alike eschewed by sound philology; but, in face of so much divergence of opinion, I venture to think that something at least is gained by assumptions founded upon just reasoning, and after careful attention given to the whole question.

It is no part of my present purpose to dwell upon the laws and practices, curious and interesting as they are, that relate to sanctuary rights and privileges as they occurred in the Middle Ages, and maintained, with more or less concern, to a comparatively recent time. It is sufficient here to say that certainly, for something like nine hundred years, in one form or another, the privilege of sanctuary was widely extended and enjoyed throughout England. The history of sanctuary in relation to the Church has yet to be written, for, although there are important contributions in exemplification of customs that at one time prevailed, yet no satisfactory treatment of the subject exists. The Durham Registers furnish abundant material, while the recent investigation of episcopal, capitular, and municipal records, if systematically studied, would throw much light on the subject.¹

Concerned as I am with only a particular phase of inquiry, it is requisite that I should give attention to such details as relate to an elucidation of my contention, and these shall be stated as briefly as possible.

The provision of some precise spot in connection with a church for sanctuary purposes would be made, it may

¹ The Rev. J. Raine, in his *Sanctuarium Dunelmense et Sanctuarium Beverlacenſe*, A.D. 1161-1524, has rendered conspicuous service in this direction.

be premised, at an early period. The laws of Alfred touching sanctuary direct that if, while a refugee was in the precincts of a church, service was being held, the clergy might detain him in some house which had no more doors than the church had. The necessity having arisen, it is reasonable to suppose that in some such way the origin of a Galilee—an enclosed sanctuary space—was suggested. The *Ancient Rites of Durham* inform us that “so soon as the refugee had entered the church, he did then run straightway to the Galilee-bell, and tolled it, to the intent that any man that heard it might know that there was some man that had taken sanctuary.” The “Galilee” was in the vicinity of the western tower, and the bell was at hand to respond to the nervous touch of the fugitive. It was here, too, that, adjoining unto the Galilee door on the south side¹ (that is, at the west end of the south aisle) the man slept on a “grate” (*i.e.*, in a cell partitioned off with a grating).

It may appear strange that so much skill and exquisite workmanship should be lavished on a part of the church designed for such purposes, and at a distance so far removed from “*the holy place*”; but, apart from the inherent desire to produce an addition worthy of the main building, it may be taken for granted that architecturally the intention was to influence, through beautiful surroundings, those from whose lives much of light and sweetness had departed. The Galilee at Durham, built by Hugh Pudsey, one of the most renowned Prince-bishops of the Palatinate See, about A.D. 1175, is truly an object-lesson. Stately in all its parts, the light and graceful character of the Transitional Norman arches, with the beautiful zigzag mouldings and enriched capitals, serve to impress the most indifferent observer with a sense of greatness such as renders it possible to abolish from the mind what is mean and unworthy. The Galilee would

¹ In point of building, construction, and arrangement, the like features may be observed at St. Gregory's, Norwich; by means of a stone staircase, from the west end of the south aisle, the sanctuary chamber is entered. From thence there is a communication with the belfry, over the Galilee to the north-west chamber, which has a separate staircase communicating with the north-west chapel below.

thus, in fact, become an asylum calculated to awaken the religious instincts of those who, as temporary outcasts, needed the staying influence of sublime surroundings.

In the turbulent days of the Middle Ages the Church of Durham was a sanctuary of particular eminence. The *Ancient Rites of Durham* offer abundant evidence on this point. The Galilee, consequently, would possess a reputation and importance of a high order, assuming it to have been largely set apart for sanctuary purposes. The original intention of Hugh Pudsey at Durham was to have built a Lady Chapel (so it is said) at the east end of the newly-finished Cathedral. Miraculously frustrated (a natural subsidence of the soil probably occurred), the hands of Hugh Pudsey were stayed, it is affirmed, owing to St. Cuthbert's dislike to the proximity of women! The *Ancient Rites of Durham* tells the story, and how the work was begun anew at the west angle of the church, where it was lawful for women to enter, and any woman treading the reserved space marked by a cross was taken away to be punished. Where the holy man Cuthbert was, there women were absolutely prohibited from entering. Far be it from me to say that the Galilee may not have been a recognised place for women, and for that matter others besides, in the sense that it formed both an approach and an outer court; but this restricted use would in no way disturb arrangements chiefly relating to special occasions and circumstances. We certainly know of use being made of the Galilee in connection with sanctuary and sanctuary chambers, the only special use, I imagine, which has been noted. If we could agree in accepting as not improbable the derivation I have suggested of Galilee, the theory would be established. But, in the present state of our antiquarian knowledge, this is more than I dare encourage. Certain points, however, in regard to the Galilee are interesting enough to mention. There was at Durham a "Master of the Galilee," selected from among the monks, and it is reasonable to suppose that he had a vocation as well as a title. What could his special work have been, if not to control certain extraordinary business? We happen to know that he was at least chosen as witness of the confession of a fugitive in his

solemn abjuration of this realm, and possibly through him sanctuary was actually claimed and granted. He may even have had the entire responsibility and ordering of the proceedings throughout. To the *Rites and Monuments of the Cathedral Church of Durham* we probably owe what knowledge we possess, scanty as it is, as well as the terms, expressed or implied, relating to the general privilege of sanctuary. Indeed, it may be inferred that to the publication of this record we may trace any measure of popularity that has gathered around the subject, and the coining of terms, prominent among which may be placed the expression *Sanctuary knocker*, of which something must be said.

The author writes as follows :—

“ In the old tyme long before the house of Durham was suppress, the Abey Church and all the Church yard and all the circuyte thereof was a SANCTUARIE, for all manner of men that had done . . . and fled to the said Church dore and knocking and rapping at yt to have yt opened, there was certen men that dyd lie alwaies in two chambers over the said north church dour, for the same purpose that when any such offenders dyd come and knocke, streightwaie they were letten in, at any hour of the night and dyd rynne streightwaie to the Gallely bell and tould it, to th'intent any man that hard it might knowe that there was som man that had taken Sanctuarie. And when the Prior had intelligence thearof then he dyd send word and commanding them that they shoulde keepe themselves within the Sanctuarie that is to say within the Church and Churchyard . . . that they should lie within the Church or Sanctuarie in a *Grate*, which grate ys remayninge and standing to this daie, being maid onlie for the same purpose, standing and adjoining unto the Gallilei dore on the South side. . . .”¹

This much is clear : near the south door of the Galilee sleeping accommodation was expressly provided for such as fled for refuge to the north door, at which admission was gained by knocking ; that over this north door were two chambers occupied by two men (at Norwich they were called “Sanctuary men”) ready at all times to admit the runaways ; that declaration of such admission was made by the tolling of the Galilee bell. The “Galilee” was to all intents and purposes *the Sanctuary*, and as such it derived its peculiar name, corrupted into the form

¹ *Rites of Durham* (Surtees Society), vol. xv, p. 35.

"Galilee," in which we now find it, arising from the source indicated, which is, I submit, reasonable as explanatory of the object of the building and expressive of its character.

We have now reached the last stage of our inquiry, which relates to what is known as the *Sanctuary knocker*. Affixed to the north door of Durham Cathedral is the well-known bronze escutcheon and ring-knocker, believed not only to have been actually used by those who sought sanctuary, but to have been placed there for that one object and use. I need perhaps scarcely say that the knocker is but one of a class, although certainly the most famous and possibly the oldest known (probably of late Norman workmanship). Only I believe in two instances can knockers of this kind be positively associated with sanctuary customs, the other case being that of St. Gregory, Norwich, to which I have already referred. Such knocker-plaques at one time were widely dispersed, and it is perhaps not surprising after long periods of apathy and neglect that so few remain. Although this form of escutcheon-knocker, as an article of church furniture and adornment, was without doubt brought into requisition where sanctuary privileges were to be found, yet it can by no stretch of imagination be maintained that it was exclusively so used; rather it was an object of *general* use, at all such times as entrance to the closed doors of the church was required.¹

The use of such a knocker, when one is seeking admission to a Continental church, is even nowadays by no means uncommon. The custodian within is summoned by the knock. Several similar objects, bearing marked resemblance to the English examples, are to be met with in Nuremburg, Brioude and elsewhere;² but in no case,

¹ This appears from an entry in one of the Church Goods Inventories of St. Gregory's, Norwich (A.D. 1568), where the so-called Sanctuary knocker is simply designated as "an instrument of brass to lay hold of."

² A sketch of two such knockers on the doors of private houses in the streets of Valence are figured in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. iv, N. S. p. 67. Two plaques and rings, one on either side, made to draw the folds of a church door, are engraved in Du Camp's *Abécédaire d'Archéologie*. They have interesting legends,

as far as I can learn, are such knockers particularly associated with sanctuary. The conventional head of a lion, in the open mouth of which is a ring that serves as a handle, frequently is found as a part of ornamental metal-work upon the folding doors of churches abroad.

Skilfully designed knocker-escutcheons in high figurative relief, as upon an inner door of Bruges Cathedral, have been called "Sacristy knockers." The handles, escutcheons, and knockers are always objects of special interest, representing generally the heads of animals holding in their mouths the ring, or, where connected with the latch, some form of attachment. The handles are often sufficiently large to be used as knockers, and are intended to strike against a large-headed nail. When, as in these examples to which we refer, the knocker is quite distinct from the handle, the opportunity is afforded for more elaborate treatment. In certain of these escutcheon-knockers a human head is made to protrude from the jaws of the animal. These human heads where they occur, as at St. Gregory's, Norwich, have been regarded as typical of a fugitive about to enter sanctuary, or as illustrating the Psalmist's prayer: "Save me from the lion's mouth" (*Psalm* xxii, 21).

The Durham knocker-escutcheon exhibits a singularly grotesque and repulsive-looking head, completely surrounded by a disc of irregular and twisted rolls of curls and a grizzly beard: quite a nondescript object. The eyes are only obtrusive sockets, while the hooked nose and the broad grin add to the hideousness of the whole. It is the one example without a border; all others in England, as far as I know, are within circles. The ring, too, suspended from the mouth, is unique in form, being of stirrup shape, and composed of snakes. It is made to resound on a projecting nail. It is not difficult to see how appropriately this bronze ornament would lend itself to the specific service of arousing the sanctuary men. The hideous form which the object in question assumes is not calculated to give restful assurance to the unfortunate

which may have some bearing on sanctuary rites: (1) "Orion, the King, gives life to souls by the breath of his mouth;" (2) "The deceitful world leads captive by the seduction of the tongue."

refugee. To be brought face to face with this brazen monster would scarcely allay terror; and even in days when the grotesque in art was so striking a feature in church decoration, it would prove cause for alarm at a time when a passing shadow would terrify.

The interesting example at St. Gregory's Church, Norwich, which is of later date, ranks next in importance. As at Durham, special sanctuary privileges were attached to it; indeed, it is the only other such knocker affixed to a door connected with both Galilee and sanctuary. It is now removed to the inner door of the vestry, at the east end of the south aisle. It is without the ring, but otherwise in fine condition. The band of foliage (ivy leaves) encircling the head is remarkably fine. There can be no doubt that this is a representation of a lion's head, with "gory mane"; the human head dependent from the animal's mouth exhibits a singularly peaceful countenance of a handsome man with neatly-trimmed hair and beard.¹ The knocker most closely resembling that at Durham is attached to the front door of an Essex (Lindsell) farmhouse, known as "the Brazen-head farm." This dwelling has enjoyed the name for upwards of four hundred years, occupying the site of an earlier moated residence. The object was probably brought from some church in the neighbourhood. This is an escutcheon within a circular plate, 18 in. in diameter, standing out in bold relief; the head is less repulsive and more decidedly human.² Like the Durham example, the head has ears like a bat, a recurring characteristic in these English specimens. The ring (plain) resembles the Durham one in shape. There is no notion that this bronze ornament ever had any connection with sanctuary observances or the like. Other remarkable examples (probably early thirteenth century) are at (1) Adel in Yorkshire, which represents an object

¹ In the Index of illustrations to Blomefield's "History of Norfolk," given in the *Norfolk Topographers' Manual* (A.D. 1842), this so-called *sanctuary knocker* is described as an *ancient ornamental copper boss*, placed above the lock of the door, between the nave and the space under the "steeple" (this is the door of what is generally known as the "sanctuary chamber"), the "space" being the Galilee.

² These representations remind us of the Greek comedy masks, where the excessively large mouth is a principal feature.

scarcely less forbidding ; and (2) All Saints' Pavement, York (resembling that at Adel), without its knocker-ring. These are circular in form, and have dependent human heads. The ring-handles are ornamented. An escutcheon at St. Nicholas, Gloucester, has a flat hexagonal disc, with the secondary head reversed. These all display on the circumference a broad band of foliage. Not one of the several churches named were sanctuary churches in any special sense ; neither has the privilege been claimed for them. Certain Norfolk and Suffolk churches, *e.g.*, Gundesburgh, Stonham Aspal, Mickfield, etc., have escutcheon-knockers of varying degrees of art excellence, but possessing no distinguishing features.

An attempt was made some years ago to fix the name "haggaday" upon the sanctuary knocker, for which I fancy the late Prebendary Mackenzie Walcott was mainly responsible. It, as I imagine, the word is the same as the Yorkshire word used to denote "a kind of wooden latch for a door" (*Hallivell*), it is singularly inappropriate, the escutcheon having no connection with a latch or any such contrivance. A *knocker-escutcheon* is as appropriate a name as can be suggested ; to call such an object a "sanctuary knocker" is to limit its use, if not to mis-describe it.

There still remains one last phase of this inquiry : the *frid-stool*, or "peace chair," of stone, in the Abbey Church of Hexham, which is said to have been occupied by the fugitive on taking sanctuary ! A similar seat at Beverley Minster had the following inscription :—

*"Hæc sedes lapidea Freedstoll dicitur pacis Cathedra, ad quem reus fugiendo perveniens, omnimodam habet securitatem."*¹

Originally this seat must have been the Bishop's chair ; it was certainly not occupied at any time by the criminal. To the Bishop the distressed fugitive had recourse. It may be easily understood, for the true meaning of sanctuary was to be found in the intercession of the clergy in behalf of such as were in trouble, and the pronouncement of absolution.

¹ *Translation*.—"This stone seat is called *freedstoll*, *i.e.*, "chair of peace," on reaching which a fugitive criminal enjoys complete safety."

In the laws of Edward the Confessor (confirmed in 1070 by William the Conqueror), it was enacted that the act of touching the threshold of the church was sufficient to acquire the privilege of sanctuary. Safety was apparently to be secured, not by laying hold upon a door-handle or knocker, but in taking refuge beyond the threshold: in the "Galilee," in fact, the appointed place of sanctuary; and from thence the "Galilee-bell" sounded, notifying to the outside world that one who had fled to the church for refuge had obtained it.

The rights of sanctuary were considerably curtailed as time went on. Acts of Parliament from the reign of Henry VIII to James I diminished the privileges, which were abolished in 1624; although it was not until the time of George I, that the famous and peculiar sanctuary at Westminster ceased to afford protection.

The privilege of sanctuary was, as we know and can well understand, greatly abused, but in principle it was "a goodly heritage." It was in no way intended to obstruct justice, but to further and promote the things that made for peace. It offered a shelter to the weak and defenceless, to the erring and misunderstood; and the Church, in exercising her ministry of tender solicitude for such, sustained the majesty of the law, and was instrumental in giving effect to a judgment that harmonised the law of God with that of man.





Proceedings of the Congress.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 17TH, 1902.

THE Members and friends assembled at Waterloo Station at 9 A.M., and proceeded by train to Godalming, which was reached shortly after ten. Carriages were immediately taken for Compton, as time did not allow of any stay in Godalming itself; but several fine views were obtained of the church, which contains specimens of every style of architecture, and has been recently well described by Mr. T. Welman, in his monograph on the subject. The drive through the beautiful Surrey lanes was much enjoyed, and Compton Church was reached all too soon.

Here Mr. Ralph Nevill, F.S.A., met the party, and commenced his duties as guide for the day by describing the church, which is one of the most interesting parish churches in England, and possesses in its double chancel—it must be so designated for lack of a better name—a feature which, with the exception of Darenth Church, in Kent, is unique. Mr. Nevill said that a church of some kind is mentioned in *Domesday*, and doubtless some portion of the present building was standing when that record was compiled; but the prevailing architectural characteristics and style of ornament in the existing church point to the later Norman period, with additions of various succeeding dates down to debased Perpendicular. In 1843, and again in 1860, restorations were effected; but these were on the whole carefully and judiciously carried out.

The church consists of a nave and aisles, the double chancel already mentioned, and a small tower with a broach spire at the west end. The south porch is modern, but the inner doorway is surmounted by a Norman arch, with chevron ornament. Two small semicircular windows at the west end of the north aisle represent all that remains of the first Norman church. The nave is divided from the aisles by three arches, plainly labelled and apparently semicircular, but in reality slightly pointed. These spring from two massive Norman columns, and two responds on either side, all of which have the square abacus and capitals variously sculptured with fluted and other orna-

ments. The chancel is separated from the nave by a slightly-pointed arch with chevron moulding, and its remarkable feature is the division of the east end into two stories. About midway up the chancel is crossed by a low semicircular arch, enriched by various mouldings, the dog's-tooth and flower ornaments of which indicate its late character. This arch is surmounted by a carved wooden screen or balustrade, described by Mr. Bloxam as Late Norman, and considered to be one of the oldest pieces of woodwork now remaining in England. It fronts the ancient chantry chapel, the floor of which rests on a low groined roof of chalk, supported by massive diagonals at the east end of the chancel. This chapel was formerly entered from the outside by a separate doorway, and stair connected with it, but is now approached from the inside. At the foot of the present stairway is a recess, which formerly looked upon the lower sacarium through a quatrefoil opening, now blocked up. This recess may possibly have been an anchorite's cell. The upper chapel contains a plain Norman piscina, as does also the chancel beneath. The remaining architectural features are of no particular interest, but a passing glance must be accorded to the fine Jacobean screen at the west end of the nave.

The drive was then continued to Loseley Place, where the owner, Mr. William More-Molyneux, received the party, and conducted them at once to the Great Hall, where Mr. Nevill unfolded the history of the manor, and described the building, which is a good specimen of an Elizabethan mansion in the prevailing style of the Early Renaissance period, the account of which has been recently well given by Mr. J. Alfred Gotch, in his book on the subject. The special glory of Loseley is its possession of one of the largest collections of sixteenth-century MSS. in private hands to be found in the kingdom. These are carefully preserved by the owner. Their presence is due to the positions at Court held by Sir William and Sir George More. After inspecting the house, the party assembled once more in the Great Hall, when Dr. W. de Gray Birch read a Paper on the MSS., his remarks being afterwards supplemented by Mr. Elliot Malden, who is at present working upon them for the purposes of the *Victoria County History of Surrey*. They comprise public and private documents of all descriptions, and contain the signatures of all the public men of the day, including those of the sovereigns from Henry VIII to Elizabeth. One of the most interesting is a letter signed "Jane the Quene," by Lady Jane Grey, on almost the last of her short thirteen days' reign. They show, among other things, the minute part taken by the Government of the day in the details of local affairs, and from them we also learn how utterly unprepared the country was, when the Armada sailed in 1588, to repel the invaders, supposing the Spaniards had succeeded in evading the

English fleet and landing an army in England. Surrey raised 7,000 men ; but, as is proved by letters in this collection, they were short of ammunition, guns, clothes, food, everything.

From Loseley, the drive was resumed to Guildford, where, after lunch, the party spent the afternoon in viewing the objects of interest in the town. St. Mary's Church was first visited, and described by Mr. Nevill. The first thing to be noticed on entering is its peculiar level : the east end very high, and the floor sloping steeply down to the west, due to its situation on the side of a hill. In Mr. Nevill's opinion, the original church ended at the tower, which was then western, though it is now central.

Coming to the fabric, he said that, in 1871, Mr. Parker described the chancel before the Archaeological Institute. There is no greater authority than his on mediæval architecture ; but he was sceptical as to Saxon work, a usual thing at that date, and there is abundant evidence since that he was wrong. The tower is the earliest part, and is of flint, with long strip buttresses, running down to the ground in the transept, which shows that these walls were once external. Of the same date are the two small windows in the tower, north and south, which were unknown till the restoration, when they were opened out. They are splayed both inside and out, but this does not *necessarily* prove them to be Saxon, as this manner was common wherever flint is used. However, when first found, the inside splays of these windows were painted, and the drawing was of *that semi-classical type which is found in early Saxon MSS.* Unfortunately, these paintings were wantonly destroyed by some workmen, employed on the building, when Canon Valpy was Rector, during his temporary absence—a great loss to archaeology, for they would probably have proved to be the earliest paintings in England. The subjects were Biblical, which again is novel in early art. That these windows, with their paintings, were anterior to the arches below, is shown by the fact that a head on the south side was cut abruptly short by the arch. The choir was originally two bays longer to the east than it is now, but it has been twice shortened, and a road now passes where the east wall once stood. In the walls are the remains of old external windows of very Early Norman date, probably anterior to the transept arches. The eastern arch of the tower is curiously plain, and probably took the place of a narrow Saxon or very early arch. The next reconstruction, which probably took place about 1160, includes the chancel arch, and nave arcade, and arch into the north chapel. The work is of fine character, and is all carried out in the local clunch. In the west wall of the transepts there are early lancets, proving that they were originally

external, when the aisles either did not exist, or were much narrower. The north and south transepts each open into chapels possessing an apsidal east end ; this is a most unusual feature in English churches, though common in Saxon ones. The original windows and vaulting of these chapels is Early English ; but they may have been raised on earlier foundations. Among many other features of interest in the church, Mr. Nevill pointed out a low side window on the north side at the west end, saying he was not prepared to accept Mr. Johnston's theory that they were in all cases intended for the friars to hear confessions at. There are some very curious remains of paintings in the vaulting of the apse of the northern, or St. Mary's, Chapel, which were described by Canon Grant, the Rector, who also explained the method of their preservation.

After a cursory glance at the Guildford Museum, which contains some good specimens of Surrey antiquities, the party visited the Castle, where they were met by Mr. Elliot Malden, and conducted at once to the keep, which stands on the summit of a mound artificially raised, and originally defended by a wooden palisade, with a wooden hall for habitation. The first mention of this castle is in the reign of King John, 1202, who made it a royal residence, and visited it nineteen times in eleven years. He and his son, Henry III, lived, not in the keep, but in a range of buildings further to the south, long since destroyed. There are the remains of a circular wall outside the keep, which apparently at one time encircled the summit of the mound, and which Mr. Malden claims as evidence of the existence of a shell-keep before the erection of the present building. A hearty vote of thanks having been awarded to Mr. Malden, Mr. Nevill conducted the party to the Guildhall, where they were received by the Mayor and Mayoress, and the ancient town maces were exhibited : these include one of the time of Edward IV. The Guildhall is of the early seventeenth century, and has some good Jacobean carving.

Abbot's Hospital, so called because it was founded by Archbishop Abbot in 1619, was next visited. The charter was granted in 1622, and the statutes say, "anyone convicted of sorcery or witchcraft" among crimes, "is to be expelled." This building is notable for its very fine chimneys, an unequalled series of oak doors, and a beautiful staircase in the master's house. The chapel contains two stained-glass windows of the Flemish school of the late fifteenth century, giving the story of Esau and Jacob. These are said to have come from the chapel of the Dominican Friars hard by. On the way to the station several of the old houses in the town were pointed out by Mr. Nevill, who was cordially thanked, as was also the Mayor, for their services.



Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 1ST, 1903.

C. H. COMPTON, Esq., V.-P., IN THE CHAIR.

The thanks of the Council were ordered to be given to the donors of the following presents for the Library :—

- To the* Royal Dublin Society for "Transactions," vol. vii, Parts xiv to xvi; vol. viii, Part i; "Proceedings," vol. ix, Part v
"Economic Proceedings," vol. i, Part III.
,, Brussels Archaeological Society, for "Annales," Parts III and IV, 1902.
,, Royal Institute of British Architects for "Journal," vol. x, Nos. 6 to 10, 1903.
,, Rhodesian Museum, Bulawayo, for "First Annual Report, 1902," and "Special Report, Zimbabwe Ruins."

A fine example of a pectoral in silver, from Russia, was exhibited by Mrs. Collier; and a very fine specimen of a polished celt of dark grey felstone, found by Dr. Manby on the King's estate on the "Ailesway," near Dersingham, Norfolk, was shown by the Rev. H. J. Dukinfield Astley. The "Ailesway" runs parallel with the "Peddar's Way," and joins it just above Westacre. The celt is of oval section, and, according to Sir John Evans's classification, would belong to the third class of Neolithic implements. Mr. Astley also submitted a broken water-worn flint implement of uncertain use, but probably a sinker, found in the river Wensum, at Rudham, Norfolk. Two coins—one of Elizabeth, the other of William III, both found at Rudham—and one of James I, from a bog in the North of Ireland, were also shown by Mr. Astley, who afterwards read a Paper on "The Effects of the Dissolution of the Monasteries upon Popular Education in England."

An interesting discussion followed the Paper, in which Dr. Winstone, Mr. Duppa Lloyd, the Chairman, Mr. Baxter, and Mr. Cheney took part; the last-named remarking that, taking the Poll Tax return

of 1377 as a basis of the population, and comparing the schools of 1546, this gives one for every 8,300 people, while the report of the Schools Inquiry Commission of 1865-6 gives no more than one secondary school for every 23,750 people. In the Poll Tax return forty-two towns are given, every one of which, with the possible exception of Dartmouth, had its grammar school.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 15TH, 1903.

BENJ. WINSTONE, Esq., M.D., V.-P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following Members were duly elected :—

C. E. Mallows, Esq., 37, Bushmead Avenue, Bedford.

Major Thomas Gray, Underhill, Port Talbot, South Wales.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the donors of the following presents for the Library :—

To the Smithsonian Institute for "American Ethnology Bulletin,"
No. 27, and "Nineteenth Annual Report," Parts I and II,
1897 and 1898.

Mr. P. Scott exhibited an illustration of a handsome rainwater pipe-head, still to be seen on the front of an old house in High Street, Birmingham, where it joins New Street. It is dated 1687, and bears the initials I¹ A, placed over a human face with wings on each side. The date is the same as that of the old meeting-house, which was the first Dissenting place of worship in that city. The pipe-head is believed to be of lead, but is covered thickly with paint.

A Paper was read by the Rev. W. S. Lach-Szyrma on "The Mining Tribes of Ancient Britain," which will be published.

The Chairman, Mr. Rayson, and Mr. Patrick, took part in the discussion following the Paper.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 6TH, 1903.

W. DE GRAY BIRCH, F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

The Ballot was declared open, and, after the usual interval, was taken, with the following result :—

President.

R. E. LEADER, Esq., F.S.A.

Vice-Presidents.

Ex officio—THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, K.G., E.M.; THE DUKE OF SUTHERLAND; THE MARQUESS OF RIPON, K.G., G.C.S.I.; THE MARQUESS OF GRANBY; THE EARL OF MOUNT-EDGUMBE; THE EARL NELSON; THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK, G.C.S.I.; THE LORD BISHOP OF ELY; SIR CHAS. H. ROUSE BOUGHTON, BART.; THE LORD MOSTYN; THOMAS HODGKIN, Esq., D.D., D.C.L., F.S.A.; COL. SIR WALTER WILKIN, K.C.M.G.; LIEUT.-COL. CLIFFORD PROBYN.

WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A.	ROBERT HOVENDEN, Esq., F.S.A.
THOMAS BLASHILL, Esq.	CHARLES LYNAM, Esq., F.S.A.
C. H. COMPTON, Esq.	W. J. NICHOLS, Esq.
SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A.	J. S. PHENÉ, Esq., F.S.A., LL.D.
I. CHALKLEY GOULD, Esq.	BENJAMIN WINSTONE, Esq., M.D.
	SIR ALBERT WOODS, F.S.A. (<i>Quarter King of Arms</i>).

Honorary Treasurer.

WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A.

Honorary Secretaries.

GEORGE PATRICK, Esq., A.R.I.B.A.

THE REV. H. J. DUKINFIELD ASTLEY, M.A., F.R.S.L., F.R.Hist.Soc.

Council.

REV. H. CART, M.A.	S. W. KERSHAW, Esq., F.S.A.
W. DERHAM, Esq.	THE REV. W. S. LACH-SZYRMA, M.A.
THE REV. C. H. EVELYN-WHITE, F.S.A.	BASIL LAWRENCE, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A.
M. LLOYD FERRAR, Esq.	R. DUPPA LLOYD, Esq., F.R.Hist.Soc.
R. H. FORSTER, Esq., M.A.	A. OLIVER, Esq., A.R.I.B.A.
RICHARD HORSFALL, Esq.	SAMUEL RAYSON, Esq.
T. CANN HUGHES, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.	W. H. RYLANDS, Esq., F.S.A.
W. E. HUGHES, Esq., F.R.Hist.Soc.	C. J. WILLIAMS, Esq.
	T. CATO WORSFOLD, Esq., F.R.Hist.Soc.

Auditors.

CECIL DAVIS, Esq.

R. H. FORSTER, Esq.

The Rev. H. J. Dukinfield Astley, *Hon. Editorial Sec.*, read the following:—

Secretaries' Report for the Year ending December 31st, 1902.

"The Honorary Secretaries have the honour of laying before the Association, at the Annual Meeting held this day, their customary Report on the state of the Association during the year 1902:—

"(1) The number of Associates remains at about the present average, those elected during the year balancing the removals by death or resignation. The Congress at Westminster was disappointing in that, directly, it brought no accession of strength to the Society. The Hon. Secretaries would take this opportunity of once more urging upon every member the importance of acting, whenever possible, as "Recruiting Sergeants," if the Association is to continue to occupy the place it has so long held with distinction in the archaeological world.

British Archaeological Association.

BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR ENDING THE 31ST DECEMBER, 1902.

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Subscriptions	193	4	0			
" Books sold	26	5	0			
" Donations towards reduction of Debt Balance	18	10	6			
" Entrance fees	4	4	0			
" Westminster and Home Counties Congress	18	4	3			
" Interest on Post Office Savings Bank Deposit	0	12	9			
				261	0	6
Printing Account unpaid	86	17	11			
Dec. 31. Balance at Bank	£23	2	1			
" P. O. Savings Bank	50	0	0			
	73	2	1			
" " Debit Balance				13	15	10
				£274	16	4

EXPENDITURE.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
By Outstanding liability, Dec. 31. 1901, since paid off				143	15	8
" Cash in hand				84	13	6
" Debit Balance, Dec. 31. 1901, brought forward	59	2	2			
" Printing and Editing <i>Journal</i>	118	9	0			
" Illustrations to <i>Journal</i>	£19	16	0			
" Less Mr. C. Lyman's Donation				6	6	0
" Delivery of <i>Journals</i>	7	17	11			
" Miscellaneous Printing & Advertising	14	0	8			
" Rent and Salaries	45	15	0			
" Stationery, Postage, and Incidentals	7	4	9			
				206	17	4
" £9 2s. 3d. Consols bought				8	16	10
				£274	16	4

Audited and found correct, 19 March, 1903.

(Signed) CECIL T. DAVIS } *Auditors.*
R. H. FORSTER }

At the same time it must ever be borne in mind that it is not so much *numbers* as *names* that tell.

“(2) Obituary Notices of Associates lost by death continue to be a feature of the *Journal*.

“(3) The Library continues to be enriched with many valuable presents. The long-promised Catalogue has been prepared, and is now in the printer's hands ; it will soon be ready, we trust, for delivery to Members.

“(4) Twelve of the more important Papers read at the Newcastle Congress, and during the Winter Sessions in London, are printed in the *Journal* for 1902, which is illustrated with over twenty plates and process-blocks, many of which have been contributed by the writers of Papers. This kindness the Council warmly acknowledges. Owing to the temporary reduction in the size of the volume, the stock of Papers in hand is larger than usual.

“(5) Early notice of new discoveries on the part of local members of Council and Associates generally is again earnestly invited, as it is only in this way that the Association can be kept abreast of existing archæological science.

“GEO. PATRICK, } *Hon.*
“H. J. DUKINFIELD ASTLEY, } *Secs.*”

While the Ballot was in progress, Mr. Allen S. Walker, Hon. Correspondent, brought up a Report to the Council on the proposed alterations in Henley Street, Stratford-on-Avon, in connection with the Free Library given to the town by Mr. Carnegie ; and a Petition was signed by all present urging delay, and deprecating any alterations which would have the effect of spoiling the association of the locality with the name and memory of Shakespeare, or of turning the house, now used as a crock shop, but known to have belonged to Thomas Greene, Shakespeare's cousin, and to date from 1563 at latest, into a modern antique. The petition has also been signed by the London and Middlesex Archæological Society, the Selborne Society, and the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Buildings.

The resignation by Mr. Rayson of the post of Sub-Treasurer, which he has so long and so ably held, was reluctantly accepted, and he was thereupon unanimously elected to a seat on the Council.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 20TH, 1903.

Dr. W. DE GRAY BIRCH, F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

At the Council Meeting, Mr. Allen S. Walker, Hon. Correspondent of the Association, delivered a report on the whole matter of the

alterations in Henley Street, Stratford-on-Avon. Mr. Walker stated that he had visited the town, and had found ample cause for the intervention of the antiquarian bodies. The property involved in the proposed changes consists of five cottages, fronted in red brick, of various dates, but none of it apparently more than 100 or 120 years old. Three of the five cottages contain sixteenth-century timbers, apparently of black oak, and of a most interesting character. These three houses have been discovered to have belonged to relatives of Shakespeare, two cottages (the property of the Birthplace Trustees) having been held by the husband of Shakespeare's grand-daughter, and the third by Shakespeare's cousin, sometime Town Clerk of Stratford-on-Avon. He deprecated the intention of the Birthplace Trustees to rebuild the brick fronts of the former cottages, not only on æsthetic grounds, but also on the ground that timber fronts provided a greater risk of fire to the Birthplace itself. He had seen plans of the Town Council's architect, by which its adaptation for the purposes of the library was to be undertaken; and held that these, if carried out, would involve such alterations as would destroy the proportions of the house and disperse much that was of interest.

A letter from Mr. E. Flower, Chairman of the Library Committee, inviting a representative of the Association to confer with his committee, was received, and the following resolutions were carried:—

“That, having heard Mr. Allen S. Walker's account of the proposed alterations to the house of Shakespeare's cousin (known as Birch's shop), it is the opinion of this council that it is desirable that its condition should be interfered with as little as possible, and that the removal of the brick front should not be carried out.

“That, having heard Mr. Allen S. Walker's account of the proposed alterations to the cottages belonging to the Birthplace Trustees at Stratford-on-Avon, it is the opinion of this council that the removal of the brick fronts from the cottages adjacent to the Birthplace should not be carried out.”

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the donors of the following presents for the Library:—

To the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland for “Journal,”
vol. xxxiii, Pt. 1, 1903.

„ *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society for*
“Magazine,” No. 98, vol. xxxii, 1902.

Mr. T. Bates sent for exhibition a brass military badge recently found at Brickendonbury, Herts. It appears to have belonged to the old volunteers of that county, and is probably of date about 1760, and

is in a very good state of preservation. Mr. Patrick, *Hon. Sec.*, read, on behalf of Major Thos. Gray, a paper dealing with the history of "The Granges of Margam Abbey," which will be published.

Mr. Blashill, Mr. Rayson, Mr. Gould, Mr. Patrick, and the Chairman, joined in an interesting discussion on the subject of the Paper.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 3RD, 1903.

C. H. COMPTON, ESQ., V.-P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following Member was duly elected :—

Allen S. Walker, Esq., 28, Devonshire Hill, Hampstead, N.W.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the donors of the following presents for the Library :—

To the Society of Antiquaries, Scotland for "Proceedings," Session 1901 and 1902.

„ Royal Institute of British Architects, for "Journals," Nos. 11 to 15, 1903.

At the Council Meeting Mr. A. S. Walker gave a further report as to the proceedings at Stratford-on-Avon, after which Mr. Edgar Flower, Chairman of the Birthplace Trustees, was interviewed by the Council. It was resolved that "Mr. Geo. Patrick, Hon. Sec., be appointed a deputation to visit the scene of the dispute on behalf of the Council, and to report as to the proposed alterations in Henley Street, and that his report be published."

The Rev. J. S. Coverley exhibited a collection of pottery, and two very fine copperplates, engraved by Houbraken, 1750, with portraits after Holbein.

Mr. Andrew Oliver exhibited a rubbing of a monumental slab from Bruges, bearing five chalices: two at the top, two at the lower end, and one in the centre surrounded by an inscription. The slab was originally placed in one of the churches, but was turned out with several others some years ago, and is now used as a coping-stone to a quay wall, having been cut into sections to fit the breadth of the wall. There are other slabs bearing figures of a bishop and priest. They are all of the date of the middle of the fifteenth century.

The Rev. J. S. Coverley read a Paper on "Shears and other Emblematic Signs on Sepulchral Slabs," with reference more particularly to the large collection of coffin-lids discovered at Bakewell in 1842, during the removal of the foundations of the church.

In the discussion that followed, Mr. Cecil Davis, Mr. Gould, Mr. Emanuel Green, Mr. Oliver, Mr. Kershaw, Mr. Allen, Mr. Walker, and others took part.

The Rev. H. J. Dukinfield Astley read a Paper (contributed by Miss Longe) on "John Salisbury, the last Prior of St. Faith's, and sometime Dean of Norwich."

Mr. Cheney made some interesting remarks upon the paper.

Both these Papers will, it is hoped, be published.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 24TH, 1903.

Dr. W. DE GRAY BIRCH, F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

At a special Council Meeting held on this day, the following Report *re* the Stratford-on-Avon Controversy was presented by Mr. Geo. Patrick, Hon. Sec. :—

*To the Chairman and Members of the Council of the British
Archæological Association.*

GENTLEMEN,

"*Re* ALTERATIONS, HENLEY STREET,
STRATFORD-ON-AVON,"

I have to report that in accordance with your instructions, I have visited Stratford-on-Avon in company with Mr. Allan S. Walker. Mr. Philips, who represented the Selborne Society, also accompanied us. Mr. Flower¹ sent his carriage to meet us at the Railway Station, and himself pointed out to us what was proposed to be done to the houses. I made, as directed, a very careful examination of the buildings, and now beg to state the result of my Survey.

1. The house known as Birch's Shop, or the "Crock Shop," and stated to have been the house of Shakespeare's cousin, and later that of Collins, the lawyer who drew up Shakespeare's will, and to date from 1563, contains in the upper storey, some ancient framing and panelling in fairly sound condition and of interesting character. By the recent pulling down of the two cottages, the side of this house is now exposed, and is in a very dilapidated condition, requiring very careful reparation, and that without further delay. Some of the timbers are quite decayed, and others show the action of fire at some period. This house appears to have had, originally, an overhanging front, as the recent demolition alluded to has exposed the angle storey

¹ Since this Report was written, we regret to have to record the sudden death of Mr. Edgar Flower, by which not only the Birthplace Trustees and the town of Stratford-on-Avon, but also his friends in this Association and throughout the country, have suffered an almost irreparable loss.

post and curved bracket of massive timber. Careful reparation of this side with old sound timber, of which, I am informed, there is plenty available from other demolished houses in the town, and the filling in of the interspaces with good "rough-cast," is what I would venture to recommend for its preservation, together with careful pointing of the exposed brickwork. So far as is perceptible at present, no other portion of the old timber front remains behind the red brick wall. I fear the proposed alterations to the interior of this house, for the purpose of utilising it as a portion of the new "Carnegie Library," would seriously impair the stability of the structure, besides destroying its identity as the house occupied by a relative of Shakespeare.

2. I think it would be a mistake to remove the red brick front or to carry out the proposed alterations, as the house does not appear to me to be suitable to the purposes of a library; moreover, there is ample space in the rear available for the Library buildings, which can be approached from the main street (Henley Street), without interfering in any way with this house. Carefully repaired, as above suggested, the house will last for many years, and will be available for other public purposes.

3. The other two houses, next the garden of Shakespeare's Birthplace, possess much that is of interest, and contain a considerable portion of the original timber-work quite sound. The roof in particular, with massive principals, tie-beams, and curved braces, is continuous over both houses, and was, I think, at one time open to the floor beneath, the present upper storey ceiling being a later introduction. These houses—I am informed—were purchased by the husband of Shakespeare's granddaughter. As they stand at present, they can easily be repaired to last for years to come; and I should think could be made very useful for parish or other public purposes with the minimum of alteration of existing arrangements.

4. In conclusion, I am bound to admit the difficulty of the position in which the Corporation of Stratford-on-Avon, the Birthplace Trustees, and the Library Committee are placed. I also believe they honestly desire not wilfully to destroy any evidence, however small, which connects their ancient town with the person or the family of the wonderful genius whose birth and residence there have made that town so illustrious. I feel sure that, if they can see their way to allow these modest buildings to remain, carrying out only such works of reparation as are necessary, and using them in some such way as I

have suggested, they will avoid giving pain to those residents and visitors who appreciate so highly the historical, literary, and sentimental associations in any way connected with Shakespeare, and will deserve of, and surely will receive from, them appreciative gratitude.

I am, Gentlemen,

Yours faithfully,

GEO. PATRICK, A.R.I.B.A.,

June 24th, 1903.

Hon. Sec.

Antiquarian Intelligence.

THE Editor has received a number of books of antiquarian interest which he regrets that, owing to considerations of space, he is again unable to notice in this Part of the *Journal*. He will hope to overtake all arrears, and to give some account of recent discoveries of interest, in the next Part, so that matter which properly belongs to the current year may find its place in the present Volume.





THE JOURNAL

OF THE

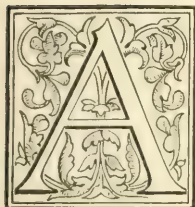
British Archaeological Association.

DECEMBER, 1903.

THE CHISLEHURST CAVES AND DENE-HOLES.

BY W. J. NICHOLS, ESQ., V.-P.

(Read at the Sheffield Congress, August 14th, 1903.)



CONSIDERABLE amount of interest is being shown at the present time in the above-named caves and dene-holes, as is evidenced by the increasing number of visitors to these great chalk excavations, which are commonly known as the Chislehurst Caves, in Kent. They are situated a short distance from the South Eastern Railway Station, and have been lately opened for public inspection. The writer of this Paper first heard of their existence about forty years ago, and endeavoured to explore them; but, after proceeding with much difficulty through some two hundred or three hundred yards of the workings, he was obliged to abandon the attempt: even where exploration was not absolutely impracticable, clambering over huge masses of chalk in semi-darkness was decidedly dangerous, and there was the further risk of losing the right track amid the tortuous windings of the place.

At the same time an endeavour was made to ascertain the origin and use of these caves, and something of their later history, but without satisfactory results; even the oldest inhabitant of the locality could only say that "he

thought they were closed about the year 1800 ;” and later observations make this appear probable. The enterprise, however, shown by the courteous proprietor of the “ Bickley Arms Hotel,” Mr. H. Ryan, in whose grounds the entrance to these caves is situated, has given the public generally, and scientific men in particular, the opportunity of examining and studying them with perfect safety. Galleries and chambers have been cleared of *débris*, the accumulation of many years, and lighted with electric glow-lamps ; and there is now little, or no danger whatever, in travelling through them under proper guidance so far as this light is available ; beyond these limits exploration may be continued by means of hand-lamps, but here a greater degree of care becomes necessary. The air is fairly dry and pure, and the temperature is about 50 deg. Fahrenheit throughout the year.

Before entering the caves, let us learn something of their position and surroundings.

Chislehurst, or more properly Chiselhurst (from the Anglo-Saxon words “ Ceosil,” a pebble, and “ Hyrst,” a wood), lies on the north-western fringe of the great “ Anderida” weald, and is watered on its southern side by the now limited stream known as the “ Kyd” brook, on the right bank of which these caves are situated. It may have been in this vicinity that the first settlement of the place occurred : the primary consideration would be the presence of water ; and this brook, with a spring in “ Hawkwood,” would leave little to be desired in that respect. It is somewhat remarkable that the archæological discoveries hitherto made have been for the most part on the line of this stream. This portion of the ancient forest land, lying between the present common and the South Eastern Railway Station, has suffered in its picturesque beauty by the inevitable growth of a population following the modern builder ; and in consequence the larger or upper portion, which is 100 ft. above the valley, is now covered with cottages and villa residences. There are, however, some pieces of the woodland left, which have borne the significant names of “ Denbridge Wood,” “ Wellwood,” “ Raggles Wood,” and “ Chalk-pit Wood,” these names being consistent with the archæological character of the surroundings. A few

hundred yards up the stream is "Hawkwood," in which traces may be seen of banks and ditches denoting an early occupation; while half a mile further up there is, on Paul's Cray Common, the well-known "Early British Camp" alluded to by Professor Flinders Petrie in his "Notes on Kentish Earthworks" (see vol. xiii, *Archæologia Cantiana*). Down the stream, within a mile, is Elmstead Wood, in which relics of prehistoric man have been found, and in which to this day may be seen a sunken road, one-third of a mile in length, now covered with venerable oaks and other forest trees: this road runs parallel to and within a hundred yards north of the railway tunnel. A line drawn on the Ordnance Map between the "Watling Street" at Blackheath and the camp at Paul's Cray Common, would cover this road and the Chislehurst Dene-holes. Within a mile is "Cold-harbour," a name frequently associated with Roman roads throughout the country. Three miles south we have the great earthworks at "Keston," the supposed site of the Roman station of "Noviomagus," with its temple, tombs, and massive foundations of flint buildings, scattered through the fields and woodland in the valley below. These remains, with considerable finds of Roman coins, tiles, and other relics, were discovered by A. J. Kempe, F.S.A., in the year 1828, and were shortly afterwards the subject of a most interesting paper by that gentleman.

Having travelled somewhat out of bounds, let us now return to "Wellwood." On the summit of Camden Hill, nearly opposite the Christ Church Schools, and in private grounds, there may be seen the abrupt termination of an apparently dry ditch, which takes, where traceable, a fairly straight course through what was formerly "Raggles," or, in "Anglo-Saxon," the "Rough" wood, down to the Kyd brook. This, with about a dozen yards of a double rampart 20 ft. deep, near the cave entrance, is all that is left of the ancient track or "covered way" leading into an Early British Camp, the more perfect remains of which may be seen, either from Mr. Mitchell's grounds, or at the rear of "Ivy Bridge Villa." These, with other smaller earthworks a hundred yards to the south-east, are similar in character to those discovered at Toot-wood, Bromley, in 1884, and were the subject of

a paper, read by the writer of this, at the Society of Antiquaries, March 14th, 1889.

These camps were sometimes of semicircular but generally of an irregular shape, and were formed by cutting down into the lower slope of a hill, and removing the excavated earth to a higher level, thus leaving an escarpment of varying depth, which, as in this case, would afford shelter from the cold north or east winds and winter storms. They were in all probability stockaded, or otherwise protected, and formed a place of temporary safety for cattle as well as their owners.

About a hundred yards east of this, we notice in the broken woodland at the foot of the hill a gap, which is the present entrance to the caves. There has been here at some time a "crowning in" or fall of the chalk, possibly caused by quarrying; and the displaced chalk, with the sand and gravel above, had blocked the older entrance. This deposit has been cleared away, and through the gap thus formed may be seen the wooded surface of the slope, 40 ft. above. A guide meets us here, who, unlocking a door and switching on the electric light, introduces the visitor to a gallery or tunnel, about 150 ft. long, 10 ft. to 12 ft. high, and with a width of 12 ft. to 15 ft., narrowing to about 7 ft. at the roof. This, and the galleries so far explored, have been cut through the chalk bed, at a depth of about 6 ft. below the Thanet sand which covers it.

At the end of this gallery, extending both right and left, are passages of like character. These again open into others so numerous that the visitor is fairly bewildered, and loses all idea of the direction in which he is travelling. The effect of the coloured electric lamps on the old chalk walling is remarkably beautiful, and might well inspire an artist with ideas for the "Haunt of the Gnomes," or some such picture.

Proceeding on our way, we get beyond the range of these electric lamps. Here candles or hand-lamps are lighted; and we pass, in Cimmerian gloom, through a succession of galleries of various dimensions, some of which, being only 4 ft. wide and 5 ft. high, are possibly of earlier construction than those already described. There is one gallery of the last-mentioned height and

width, 63 ft. long, with several sharp turns, which formerly terminated in a chamber about 12 ft. high and 10 ft. wide, and a like length. The only entrance was by a small hole at ground level, and near it is a seat cut into an angle of the walling. Might not this well-protected chamber have been a hiding-place for treasure? The "Druids" and chief men of a tribe had, as is well known, considerable hoards of pure gold ornaments, massive "breast-plates," "torques," and armillæ, arms, jewels, and gold coins of many nationalities, as well as of their own minting. What safer place could be found for valuables of this kind than such a chamber, one hundred feet below the surface of the woodland, guarded by men whose failure in their duty to the chief would ensure a speedy death?

Many of these galleries are now blocked by heaps of sand and chalk, the result of the "crowning-in" of the roof in some places; and in others of the falling in, or filling of Dene-hole shafts with rubbish from building operations eighty feet above. At no great distance from this chamber, and near to a Dene-hole shaft, is a short gallery, at the end of which is a shaft originally level with the flooring, but now bricked round 3 ft. or 4 ft. high, and further protected by an iron cover. On removing the cover and lowering a lamp, a well of excellent workmanship is discovered; it is 3 ft. 6 in. diameter; but, owing to the quantity of material thrown down from time to time by explorers, its present depth is no more than 43 ft. What might it not reveal if cleared out to its original depth! Surely something of archæological interest sufficient to give a clue to the origin and history of the caves.

Further progress is made, and presently we notice a streak of daylight some distance ahead; here we find that we have reached the foot of a shaft 85 ft. deep: which, though now partly covered in, had its mouth in what is at the present time the garden of a modern villa adjoining the Common. This, originally one of the many Dene-holes (perhaps *seventy* in number) in this locality, has within the last one hundred and fifty years been lined with bricks, and was probably used in connection with the latest workings carried on here. Not far from this shaft

we see one of the most interesting sights that these caves can show us: a series of galleries, with rectangular crossings, containing many chambers of semicircular, or apsidal form, to the number of thirty or more—some having “altar-tables” formed in the chalk, within a point or two of true orientation. This may be accidental, but the fact remains; and the theory is supported by the discovery of an adjoining chamber, apparently intended



The Altar-Table in the Centre Gallery.
(Reproduced by permission of the "*Graphic*.")

for the officiating priest. There is an air of profound mystery pervading the place: a hundred indications suggest that it was a subterranean “Stonehenge;” and one is struck with a sense of wonder, and even of awe, as the dim lamplight reveals the extraordinary works which surround us.

The actual purpose of these excavations may never be certainly known; but their probable use will be alluded to presently. In order to give a general idea of their

extent, it will be sufficient to state that in June last the writer was accompanied by Mr. Ryan and a friend, and, during a four hours' exploration in the more remote workings, covered about four miles of galleries without finding a termination to them. In many places there were heaps of flint ready for chipping, and the piece of rock on which the worker sat—just as they were left more than one hundred years ago; round them were scattered a



The Altar-Table in the Long Gallery.
(Reproduced by permission of the "Graphic.")

quantity of flakes, among which were found four or five gun and pistol-flints ready for use.

The area of these workings has yet to be discovered. They are known to extend under the greater portion of the Common, where, at some points, they are 130 ft. below the surface. They are seen at the far end of Lower Camden and at Elmstead, their course being, apparently, from north-west to north and east of the present entrance. It will give some idea of the quantity

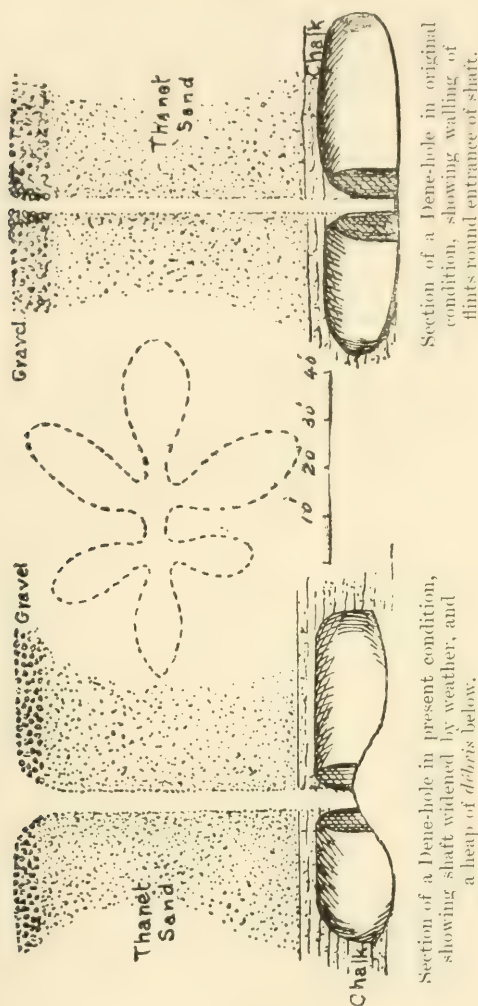
of material removed from them, when it is shown by computation that twenty-five thousand loads (or yards) of broken chalk, etc., has been cut from every mile of gallery.

As to the origin of these caves, little can be said until further exploration and investigation have been made. The popular theory that they are natural, and were formed by the action of the sea, is untenable, and may at once be dismissed: the mark of the pick being discernible on the walling in every direction, except where obliterated by the hand of time. These pick-marks, however, do not assist us in estimating the age of the works; there is the clean sharp cut of the new tool, and the dull heavy stroke of the old one, giving much the same pattern as the pick of to-day, or of two thousand years ago.

On leaving the galleries and ascending the hill, we find ourselves in a piece of woodland of some seven or eight acres—all that is left of Denbridge Wood and Well Wood. The word “Den” is “*Celto-Saxon*,” signifying a deep wooded valley, or hollow way, and may be used conversely with “Dun,” and perhaps “Dene.” “Well-wood” is a local name, and has in many instances given a clue to existing Dene-holes in other localities: similar shafts being called Well-holes” in parts of Kent and Surrey—for example, in the neighbourhood of Warlingham and Chelsham. If you would like to see one, lean over that piece of iron railing, near where you are standing, and look into the semi-darkness below: this shaft is not very deep, as we are only just rising the hill, but still there is a forty-foot descent before reaching the rubbish which partly fills it. By the aid of a light lowered through a crevice, you may see a chamber of unknown dimensions, which is nearly filled with vegetable matter and sand, the latter being the waste by denudation of the facing wall of the shaft through many centuries, which has increased its diameter to 5 ft. near the surface. In the wood there are many hollow places, which indicate where other shafts may once have existed; or, possibly, they are still there, hidden and protected by the roots of trees.

Why were these Dene-holes made, and what was their use? One archæologist will say that they were hiding-places,

another that they were granaries, and another merely chalk-pits. The writer has a very decided opinion that they answered the two former purposes, and were essential to the welfare of the people who constructed them ; but,



Sections of a Dene-hole and Ground Plan of Chambers.

(Based upon a plan and description by Mr. T. V. Holmes, F.G.S.)

as regards the last-mentioned theory, why sink a shaft of 80 ft. or 100 ft. to get chalk, when it was obtainable in the outcrop at the foot of the hill a hundred yards away ? The theory that they were hiding-places for hay, or fodder for cattle, is hardly tenable ; the object of a

raid by an enemy would be primarily to secure the cattle, the most valuable possession of a primitive age; and if the raid were successful there would be little use for fodder, which could as easily be hidden in the depths of the woodland, and there kept in better condition and no less security than in chambers 100 ft. below the surface, where a lighted brand might be fatal to the place and its occupants. The ancient Britons, particularly those of a later age, were a trading and industrial people, breeding cattle, growing corn, preparing skins, raising minerals, etc., and bartering their produce with the "Belgic Gauls" and "Veneti," who were the "middlemen" of that age. But where could they store their portable possessions? Caesar, in his *Commentaries*, refers to the frequent inter-tribal wars of these people. At such a time, what would be the position of the weaker side, or of the women and children without a place of refuge? Not only property but life itself would be in the utmost danger. Here, then, was need of a hiding-place and a refuge in the recesses of the forest, and one deep below the surface of the ground would afford a better chance of safety than any other; accordingly, a shaft was sunk to the required depth, passages and chambers were made, and the excavated earth was spread over the surrounding woodland, where, after a few months, few signs of its presence would remain. There were two modes of descending these shafts: one by notched poles, the other and more general by foot-holes in the sides of the shafts, which were commonly about 3 ft. in diameter; a guide rope of twisted strips of hide, which could be quickly removed, hung from a stout oaken pole laid across the mouth, and steadied the descent. In time of danger these places would be the homes of families: one shaft would serve several chambers, in some of which grain and valuables would be stored, while others would be used as living-rooms. The little colony might be working in the fields or tending their cattle; suddenly a cry of alarm is raised, the look-out man rushes in, and reports that the enemy is approaching in force. If the incursion were too strong to be resisted there would be an immediate stampede; the population would swarm down the shafts, and in a few minutes not a sound would be left to guide the invaders. Even if the

raiders succeeded in discovering a shaft they would be practically helpless, since one or two resolute men at the foot could hold it against a host.

As to the age of these Dene-holes, of which so many have recently been brought to light, they are certainly "Post-Neolithic," and may be attributed to what is known as the "Late Celtic" or "Iron Age," *i.e.*, any period between 400 B.C. and the early part of the Christian era. If we may judge by their number, it is probable many thousands of the "Cantii" (the tribe inhabiting Kent) were settled in their immediate vicinity, and that the Bards, Vates or Faids, and Druids (collectively Druids), were not remotely associated with them, and these Druids were the advanced men of, at this time, a great and numerous people. If their religion was not actual solar worship, some such influence was certainly current among them. "In the spirit of genuine priest-craft the Druids retained the keys of knowledge in their own possession, and wielded the power it placed at their disposal with terrible effect over their ignorant votaries." According to Cicero, Pliny, and other writers, they had, among many other acquirements, a knowledge of jurisprudence, poetry, medicine and astronomy. The mention of astronomy suggests the inquiry: might not the shafts of these Dene-holes have lent themselves to the study of the heavenly bodies?

From the same channel of information we know that they practised their mystic rites in the secluded depths of oak forests, or in "caves." What more likely then that these galleries and chambers have witnessed the terrible scenes attached to human sacrifice? There are altar or sacrificial tables in the caves, and the glamour of the surroundings would have lent itself to the superstitious reverence which accompanied such religious beliefs. But with the conquest of the country a new order of things prevailed, and a period of comparatively peaceful life ensued. The Romans, who previous to their arrival, and during the four hundred years of their occupation of the country, knew the value of chalk and flints for building purposes and the use of chalk in agriculture, gave an increased energy to this industry. May not these people have run their galleries through the previous

workings, intersecting and thus destroying many of the old shafts and Dene-holes which were so numerous in this locality, but were then rendered useless under the changed conditions brought about by the Roman occupation? On the final departure of the Romans, in the fifth century, the same influence, with a knowledge of various industries, must have ensured the continuous use of these minerals, and their continuous removal would greatly add to the length of the galleries.

Then followed Jutes, Angles, and Saxons, collectively known as the "Anglo-Saxons," who were essentially an agricultural people, and must, during the ensuing three or four centuries, have removed immense quantities of chalk from these workings (records of which exist from these times), thereby affording extensive hiding-places, of which all classes must have made use when the Danes invaded, and for a time conquered, the country.

So from time to time (perhaps continuously) these passages were occupied and extended, until miles of them—many now blocked up and unknown—extended in every direction, and were only abandoned when the great chalk quarries and lime and cement works of the lower Thames and Medway, through their waterways, were seen to afford greater facilities for the transport and use of one of the important minerals of this country.

One can readily imagine that a place of this kind has been at various times, in a later age, a refuge to human beings in the hour of danger, or at times when religious persecution (say that which followed the accession of Queen Mary) necessitated secret worship. Here, again, after the lapse of many centuries, would be found a use for these galleries, chambers, and altar-tables—for the cradle of the Reformation was at this time still being rocked by a devout and resolute band of men who would not be turned from the tenets of their faith. There was, then, a fitness as well as security in this wild meeting-place, where reigned a solitude deep, intense, breathless. To this place came a noiseless gathering of the people; here following the silent meditation and prayer were heard the subdued tones of the ministering priest, which in the dim uncertain light and mysterious surroundings must have given an impressive character to a scene not

without its influence upon the minds and emotions of the worshippers. From the very able and interesting Paper "On the Origin of Dene-holes," by Mr. A. R. Goddard, B.A., a Member of our Association, I extract the following :—

"What, then, were these great excavations, so carefully concealed in the midst of lone forests? There is an interesting account in Victor Hugo's *Ninety-Three*, of the use made of very similar places in Brittany by the peasant armies, during the war in La Vendée. He means the narrative to be historic, for he ends, 'In that war my father fought, and I can speak advisedly thereof.' He writes: 'It is difficult to picture to oneself what these Breton forests really were. They were towns. Nothing could be more secret, more silent, and more savage. *There were wells, round and narrow, masked by coverings of stones and branches; the interior at first vertical, then horizontal, spreading out underground like funnels, and ending in dark chambers.*' These excavations, he states, had been there from time immemorial. He continues: 'One of the wildest glades of the wood of Misdon, perforated by galleries and cells, out of which came and went a mysterious society, was called "The Great City." The gloomy Breton forests were servants and accomplices of the rebellion. The subsoil of every forest was a sort of madrepore, pierced and traversed in all directions by a secret highway of mines, cells, and galleries. Each of these blind cells could shelter five or six men. Usually the cover, made of moss and branches, was so artistically fashioned that, although impossible on the outside to distinguish from the surrounding turf, it was very easy to open and close from the inside. In several of these forests and woods, there were, not only subterranean villages grouped about the burrow of the chief, but also actual hamlets of low huts, hidden under the trees. These underground belligerents were kept perfectly informed of what was going on. Nothing could be more rapid, nothing more mysterious, than their means of communication. Sometimes they raised the cover of their trenches, and listened to hear if there were fighting in the distance.' He speaks of the ability of these ambushed men to spring up, as it were, under the feet of the armies sent against them; and to show the numbers of the forces thus concealed, he continues:

"There are in existence strange lists which enable one to understand the powerful organisation of that vast peasant rebellion. In Isle-et-Vilaine, in the forest of Pertre, not a human trace was to be found, yet there were collected 6,000 men under Focard. In the forest of Meulac, in Morbihan, not a soul was to be seen, yet it held 8,000 men. These hypocritical copses were filled with fighters, waiting in a sort of underground labyrinth.' These descriptions of what actually occurred, even in recent times, are very suggestive. If such lairs were so used in the eighteenth

century, why not in the first: and still more in the primitive times below zero? . . . Let us suppose that some raiding party lighted upon the mouth of one of these Dene-holes, and was suspicious of its contents. What would probably happen? They might send down a man or two to reconnoitre. If the pit were occupied, the scouts would come to trouble. If it were unoccupied, they might prow! round the entire cavity and report it empty, without any idea that it formed one of a huge confederation. If, on the other hand, the raiders were nervous of exploring, they might try the effect of fire, or block up the shaft mouth, and then go on their way, complacently imagining that they had disposed of their subterranean prey. If the pit were occupied, the victims of this grim practical joke, as they smelt the smoke or saw their exit corked up, would be aware that, at the end of one of the lobes of their lair there was only a thin division of chalk between them and safety, and that a few strokes of a pick would clear them a passage into another pit, with an independent exit-shaft."

These conclusions of Mr. Goddard are very pertinent to the subject. That these extensive underground galleries and excavations at Chislehurst have been used in times of political and religious trouble there is little doubt, and it is hoped that some "finds" may be made at no distant date which may throw further light upon this most interesting subject. However, be that as it may, we have here, within eleven miles of London, and comparatively unknown, one of the most remarkable sights to be found in this country.





NOTES

ON THE GRANGES OF MARGAM ABBEY.¹

BY THOMAS GRAY, ESQ., J.P., M. INST. C.E.

(Read May 20th, 1903.)

THE GRANGES IN MARGAM PARISH.

PART I.



IN this paper, the subject of which was suggested to me by Dr. Birch, I confine myself to the Granges of the Abbey in the Parish of Margam, although the Abbey possessed several granges outside the parish.

If the Norman Conquest of Glamorgan had not occurred, it is probable that the Abbey of Margam would not have existed. Sir Robert Fitz-Hamon, the leader of the Norman knights who wrested the Lordship of Glamorgan from Jestyn ap Gwrgant, was Count of Corbeil and Baron of Thorigny and Granville. "Some doo affirme that he was Lord of Astreuile in Normandie," says H. Lhoyd, in his *History of Cambria*. His father was Hamo Dentatus, sixth Earl of Corbeil. The family of Granavilla is traced to Rollo, first Scandinavian conqueror of Normandy.

The manner of the winning of the Lordship was shortly in this wise: In A.D. 1090 Cadivor, the son of Collwyn (Calhoyn, in Lhoyd's *History of Cambria*, 1578), Lord of Dyvet, died, and his sons Llewellyn and Eneon¹ moved

¹ References: Miss Talbot's MSS., thus (*T.* 73); Mr. Clark's *Carta*, thus (*C.* DXXXLXXIV).

² Einion ap Collwyn.

Griffith, son of Meredyth, to make war against Prince Rees ap Theodor¹; but Rees put them to flight, killing Gruffyth. Eneon fled to Jestyn, Lord of Morganwe, who likewise was in rebellion against Rees ap Theodor, and promised on condition to marry Jestyn's daughter. Eneon having been in England, and, knowing the English nobility, proposed to Jestyn that the aid of the Normans be sought against Rees; so Eneon went to England, and was the means of bringing into Glamorgan Sir Robert Fitz-Hamon and twelve other knights and a great army of Normans. The Norman army and that of Jestyn burned and spoiled Rees's land, and destroyed his people. This so grieved Rees, that he suddenly got his army together, and met them not far from Brecknock: where, in the terrible battle, he was slain.

So Fitz-Hamon became possessed, for his share of the spoils, of Cardiff and Kenfig Castles and adjacent lands, being the body of the Lordship of Glamorgan of which Margam was part, and he styled himself Prince of Glamorgan.

The family of Granavilla seems to have been a pious one; for Sir Robert's brother and knightly companion founded and endowed Neath Abbey; and, later, Sir Robert Fitz-Hamon's daughter and heiress Mabel² married Robert, Earl of Gloucester, natural son of King Henry I, by Nest, daughter of Prince Rees ap Tewdwr; and they determined to grant part of her dower lands to the service of God, and to the monks of Clairvaux and the Cistercian Order. And thus it came about that the Cistercian monks came to Margam, and built their granges, and farmed the lands around.

The lands given by Robert, Earl of Gloucester, and Mabel, or Mabilia, his wife, to the monks of Clairvaux, are described as being between the Kenfig river and the further bank of further Afan.

¹ Rhys ap Tewdwr.

² Fitz-Hamon is said by some to have had but one daughter, Mabel, sometimes called Sybil, by others four; and as two embraced the religious life, and the other may have died, practically, he had but one daughter living in the world. Dr. Birch says two of his daughters, Cicely and Hawise, became the Abbesses of Shaftesbury and Wilton.

The gift to the monks of these lands had for object the founding of an Abbey thereon. The text of the first charter, which is unfortunately not in existence, is preserved us in an *Inspeximus* of certain charters by Edward le Despenser, Lord of Glamorgan and Morgan, dated July 13th, A.D. 1358, of an *Inspeximus* by Hugh le Despenser, son and heir of Hugh le Despenser, Lord of Glamorgan and Morgan, and Alianora, his wife, at Cardiff Castle, October 9th, A.D. 1338.

In this document Earl William notifies to the Bishop Nicholas of Llandaff,¹ that he has confirmed the gift which Robert, his father, gave to the monks of Clairvaux :—

“Willelmus comes Gloucestrie Nicholao Landavensi episcopo et vicecomiti suo de Glamorgan et omnibus baronibus suis et hominibus et amicis Francis et Anglis et Wallensibus salutem.”

“Sciatis me concessisse et hac mea carta confirmasse illam donacionem quam Robertus comes Gloucestrie pater meus et Mabilia comitissa mater mea pro sua suorumque salute dederunt monachis de Claravalle, scilicet totam terram que est inter Kenefeg² et Aven³ ulteriorem que est ad occidentem heremitagii Theodorici. sicut predicte aque descendunt de montanis. hanc totam terram concedo predictis monachis sicut vadit per montana. a sursa scilicet aque de Kenefeg’ inter sursam Rudelf’ et Gethlifret usque in Redekewelthi. id est in vadium Kewelthi in Avenam. in bosco. et in plano in pratis. et pasturis. et aquis. in moris et mariscis. piscarias eciam de Avena totas. ut nemo ex altera parte eas impediat. nec mittat manum ad piscandum in tota Avena nisi per illos.”

¹ A.D. 1149-1183.

² Kenefeg, Cefn-y-Figen, the ridge above the bog or swamp. Just half a mile east-south-east of the bridge of the Roman road Heol-y-troedwyr (“the road of the foot-soldiers”), are some slight remains of Krefig Castle.

³ Aven. Afan River. The town on its west bank is called Aberavon, correctly Aberafan, the single “f” in Welsh having the sound of the English “v.” *Aven* is often confounded with *Aron*, a river; *Aven* is quite another word. Aberavon, or Aberafan, is derived from *Aber*, a construction of *aberw*, a confluence of water, the junction of water, the fall of a lesser river into a greater one or into the sea. *Aven* is a compound of *A* or *Ab* and *bann*. *B* in Welsh is mutable into *f* or *v* and *m*; *ei fara*, his bread; *fy mara*, my bread. So *bann* is changed into *fann*. *Ab* means quickness of motion; *bann*, high. Thus *Afan* is the name of a river which flows from the high lands (*bannau*) into the sea.

The Abbey, we find from the *Annales de Margan*, was founded in A.D. 1147.

"A.D. 1147 Fundata est abbatia nostra quae dicitur Margan. Et eodem anno comes Gloucestrie Robertus, qui eam fundavit, apud Bristolium obiit pridie kalend. Novembris."—*Annales de Margan*, p. 14.

So the pious founder's spirit passed away, and he never saw the noble Abbey rise in its magnificence. Magnificent we know it must have been, judging from the remains we see to-day; and this noble Abbey so appeared to Sir John de Avene. He confirms certain gifts, "having, after a diligent view thereof, considered the noble and magnificent structure of the walls continually made in the said monastery."

The Cistercians, "the puritans of the cloister," who came and settled in this lovely spot, were an offshoot from the Benedictines, who lived under a new and stricter rule, modelled on that of the Order they quitted in 1098.¹ Their origin is well known, and need not be here related. "Both Orders were great landowners; and at the time of the Dissolution most, if not all, of the Cistercian houses seem to have approximated to the character of the Benedictine abbey. But, speaking generally, and taking in view also the preceding centuries, it may be said that the Cistercians were essentially farmers and farming their own lands themselves. This they were able to do the better through the institute of *fratres conversi*, or lay brethren, which flourished among them. In course of time this system was abandoned in England; for instance, at Meaux Abbey the *conversi* died out towards the end of the fourteenth century."²

The *conversi* were distributed among the various granges belonging to the Abbey, and as these were far from the Abbey, at each grange a small chapel was provided for the use of the *conversi*, the mass being celebrated by the monks detailed for the purpose. Thus we find that Bishop Elias, in a letter, notifies to all the faithful that he has granted permission to the Abbot and Convent of

¹ Dr. Birch, *Neath Abbey*.

² *Henry VIII and the English Monasteries*: Dom Francis Gasquet.

Margam to celebrate services in their "Grangia de Melis," A.D. 1239 (*Harley Charter* 75A 26).

"Licence, by Elias, Bishop of Llandaff, to Margam, for Divine Service in Melis Grange, A.D. 1239. Universis Christi fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit. E. Dei gratia Landavensis episcopus salutem. gratiam. et benedictionem. Quoniam ex oſſitio nobis injuncto justis petentium desideriis et precipue. virorum religiosorum. animo nos decet benigno condescendere. universitati vestre presentibus duximus significandum. quod nos concessimus dilectis filiis nostris abbati videlicet et conventui de Margam ut in grangia sua de Melis divina possint celebrare. Ut autem ea que auctoritate nostra concessa sunt firmitatis robur optineant in perpetuum. presenti scripto sigillum nostrum apposimus.

"Datum anno gratie M^o. C^o. XXXIX. valeat universitas vestra in Domino.

"Endorsed—Quod liceat nobis divina ministeria in grangia de Melis celebrare."

THE GRANGIA DE MELIS.

This grange, situated in the hamlet of Hafod-y-Porth, is now called the Court Farm: it is the farm close to Port Talbot Great Western Railway Station. I speak of the Afan river as it ran prior to 1838, when it was diverted. The grange stood some distance from the north bank of the river, just on the edge of the land over which high spring tides swept in flowing up the river, sweetening the grass, and making it exceedingly good feeding-ground for sheep, which thrive amazingly on it. Melis is Welsh for sweet.

The same name obtains in Meols in Wirral, Cheshire Coast.¹

A *Harley Charter* Deed 75 c 36 occurs in which Leisan and Owein,² sons of Morgan, promise the monks on their oath not to dig or plough the land between the Walda of the English—the Gwal Saeson, the Englishmen's Wall—and Meles in Avene Marsh; for they and their fathers have given the pasture of all the land, arable and not arable "in Melis" in Moor and in Marsh, to the monks, between Avene and the chapel of St. Thomas. The

¹ Dr. Birch, *Margam Abbey*.

² Occur A.D. 1200-1205.

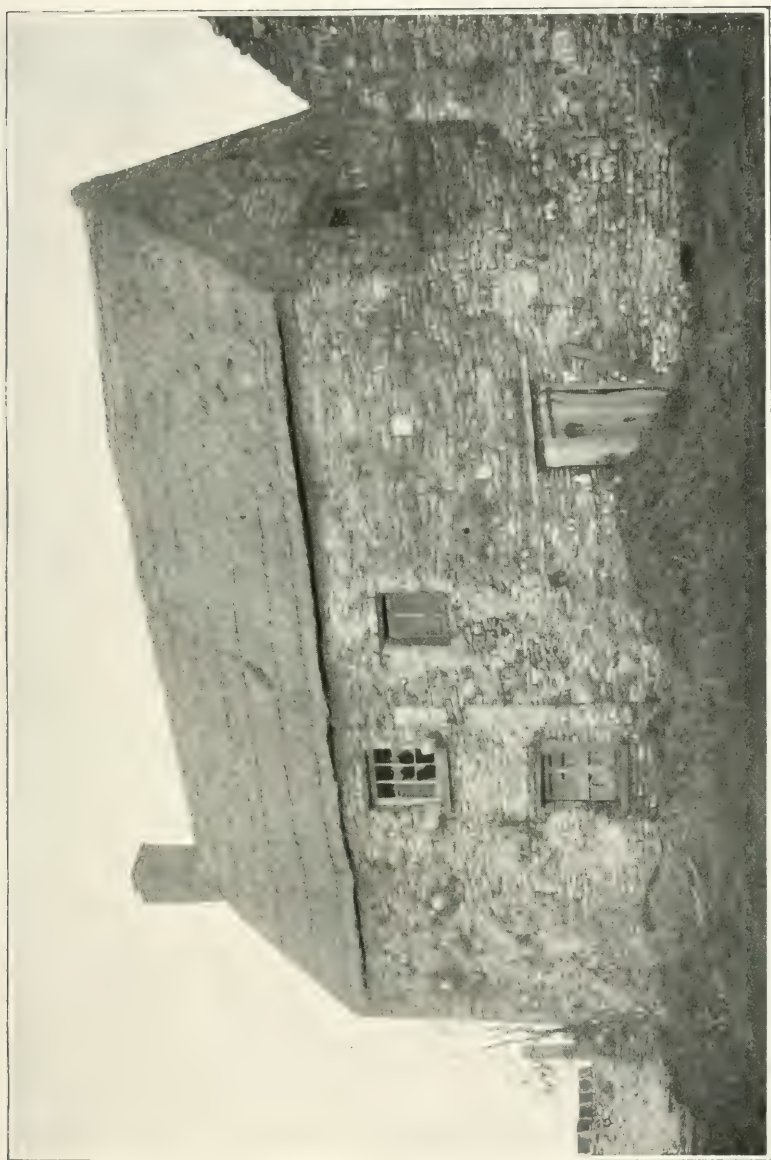
chapel of St. Thomas was in the Grangia de Melis, and is the building I believe known still as "Yr hen Gapel," the Old Chapel.

The Gwal Saeson, a wall of masonry, still exists in considerable part, and runs along parallel with the Afan river, from the Ffrwdwyllt river, until it joins the Afan at about the point where the waters pause before they turn on to the low-level lands to run more sluggishly before meeting the sea.

The Abbot had sea walls in the flat marshes, and great care seems to have been exercised in the watching and reparation of them. These walls were in the flat land called Morfa Newydd, or New Marsh or Moor: thus it was called in Abbey days.

An indenture exists, made on St. Nicholas the Bishop's Day, 6th Dec., A.D. 1349, *Harley Charter* 75 A 44 (*C. cccxxvii*). By it the Abbot grants to John Lange and Jevan ap Phelipot of Avene (Aberavan), eight acres of arable land in the demesne of Terrys Grange (I do not know the location of this grange) for their lives, on condition of their repairing and maintaining all the Abbot's sea walls (*wallæ marine*) in the Marsh of Avene, against perils of the sea only at their own proper expenses, excepting the work of repairing or altering the wood-work of the "goutes," which the grantors are to execute at the costs of the Abbey. The feedings on the wall are to be enjoyed by the grantors without injury to them. If the sea goes over the top of the walls, and creates so much damage that it cannot be repaired between two tides of ebb and flow (*inter duas tydas maris fluentis et refluxis*) without imminent danger, then the Abbot is to render assistance. The Abbot allows each grantor two loads of dead wood, to be delivered weekly by the forester; but if they are found cutting green wood, they are liable to be fined in the Abbot's Court.

The Port Talbot Stone, found near the Court Farm, proves with the grant by Leisan and Owein, that St. Thomas' Chapel was that licensed for divine service by Bishop Elias in A.D. 1239, in the Grangia de Melis. I do not know how it was that the chapel was erroneously said to be between the Afan and the River Neath.



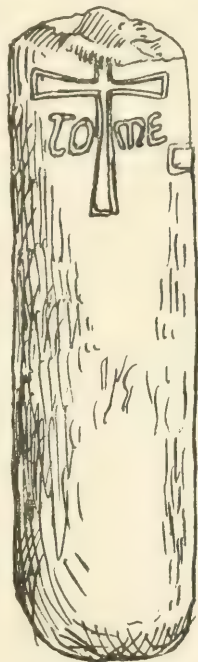
THE SOUTH SIDE OF THE BUILDING.

The part on the left is the "Hen Chapel," or Old Church of St. Thomas. The four corbels are of Sutton stone, as are the white coin stones.

Professor Westwood says the Port Talbot Stone, near Court Farm, was evidently intended to commemorate the St. Thomas to whom the neighbouring, but long-destroyed Capell St. Thomae was dedicated: "the stone evidently intended to commemorate the neighbouring but now long-destroyed Capell St. Thomae" "*in terra quam W. comes Gloucestri dedit Willelmo filio Henrici inter aquas de Arene et Neth*" (italics are mine). From a charter of confirmation by Nicholas, Bishop of Llandaff: here the chapel is stated to have been between the Avan and Neath river.

Although I am certain the Chapel of St. Thomas was in the Grangia de Melis, I have some doubts as to the building now called "yr hen Gapel" (the old Chapel) being the ancient chapel; as I remember the west end of the old dwelling-house having in it an ecclesiastical window, which, however, may have been removed there from the east end of the old chapel, the window of which is now blocked up. This window is mentioned in a letter by the late Rev. H. H. Knight. He writes (*circa* 1850), on his visit to this farm, "the tenant pointed out part of a cross with an indented pattern, something like that at Llantwit Major. It had been placed as part of the coping on the garden wall, and was not in good preservation. We were then shown the west end of the house, and were informed that it had been part of a chapel, and that human remains had not infrequently been discovered in digging the raised ground on which the buildings stand."¹

The dwelling-house was burnt down some years ago (a considerable number of old guineas were found in the *débris*), and, unfortunately, the window was destroyed; or, what amounts to the same thing, it was put into



Sepulchral Stone
of St. Thomas.

¹ Extract from a letter sent me by Mr. J. G. Thomas, Burry Port. His father was the tenant of the farm at the time referred to.

position in the new building in such a way as to be unrecognizable. It was about the same size as the splayed opening of the east window in the old chapel; and I think it probable that when a barn was erected on the east of the chapel and attached to it, the window-jambs and mullions were removed to decorate the dwelling-house.

On the south wall of the old chapel are four corbels of Sutton stone, 12 ft. from the ground, and I have thought this might have been the north wall of the ancient chapel, if the present building is not it. The few ornamental stones about seem to have belonged to a more ornate building than that of the building now called "yr hen Gapel." The old chapel is 12 ft. by 14 ft. long. The east window is 22 in. wide, and splayed to 36 in. Some of the quoins are of Sutton stone. At 2 ft. 4 in. from the north-west corner is the ancient doorway with semi-circular arch; it is 2 ft. 3 in. wide by 9 ft. 10 in. high. The arch rises 8 in. from the springing; the curved stones of the arch are also Sutton. The window of the west end of the dwelling-house was replaced after the fire, and appears now as a round-headed light of about 10 in. width and 30 in. or so in length.

Lord Hugh le Despenser confirmed the gifts to the Abbey by Morgan ap Cradoc and Leisan, his son (who, with Owain, gave the monks the land in "Melis" and Marsh), and stipulated a boundary between his land and the monks' land, on condition of their celebrating divine service on his birthday, "in pre-vigilia Beati Valentini martyris," by a priest saying one mass of the Virgin Mary on the three following days, and on the birthday itself solemn mass in the choir; monks of at least the grade of priests are to sing the psalter, "*pia mente*," on the three said days; seven poor men are to be fed, clothed, and provided with footwear as the monks are; and, on the day of his death, yearly, the poor men are to be similarly provided for. *Circa* A.D. 1347 (document much injured by rats, so that the date cannot be actually ascertained).

As already stated, the land given to the monks of Clairvaux extended to the further bank of the river



ANCIENT DOORWAY IN NORTH SIDE OF ST. THOMAS' CHAPEL.

Avan: "scilicet omnes terras cum pertinentiis suis inter aquam de *Kenefeg* et ulteriorem ripam aque de *Avene* ulterioris que est ad occidentem heremitagii *Theodoric*."

By a deed similar to the one already quoted, Leisan and Owein¹ (*T.* 288. 12) grant to Margam Abbey all the marsh lying between the "Wallum" of the English and Avene water (see the deed previously mentioned), and between Avene water and Berges (burrows or sand-dunes), at a yearly rental of half-a-mark silver. The latter part gives the land now known as Morfa Newydd, or New Marsh, and shifts the boundary further west for some distance; and so the parish boundary runs along the west side of this land between sea and river.

Morgan Gam, or Morgan of the crooked or squinting eye—or, it may be, he was crook-backed—was the third son of Morgan ap Caradoc; he succeeded to the estate of his brother Leisan and Owein, and became a benefactor to the Abbey early in the thirteenth century. Gilbert, Earl of Gloucester, took Morgan prisoner in A.D. 1228, loaded him with chains, and sent him to England; he was released on giving hostages to the Earl of Clare. Morgan was a turbulent fellow; in A.D. 1232 he burned the town of Kenfig,² and he must have given much trouble to the Abbey, for he swore on the reliques of Margam to observe in future all the charters and confirmations of his father and brothers and his own to Margam Abbey, and that all disputes should be settled by award of two or three arbitrators chosen on each side; "and if we do not adhere to this, let Holy Church do her duty by us": *i.e.*, excommunicate him (*T.* 73; *C.* DCCCLXXIV).

Morgan confirmed his whole common of pasture to the monks, "tam in Marisco quam in Melis," as well in Marsh as in Melis, and grants them a site for building a cow-house "in Melis" (see note on Melis). In another deed Morgan Gam grants to the Abbey (*T.* 115. *C.* DCCCXXIX) this land, the New Marsh of Avene, "Novum mariscum de Avene," between their "Walda" (sea wall) and the "Walda" of the English, with exclu-

¹ Occur A.D. 1200-1205.

² "MCCXXXII. Combusta est villa de Kenefeg per Morganum cham." (*Exch. Chr.* in *Arch. Camb.*, 1862, p. 278).

sion of cattle, except those of the Abbey, from Easter to Michaelmas, "á *Pasca* usque ad festum Sancti Michaelis;" and if the monks desire to cultivate the said marsh, they are to hold it as they formerly did hold the whole marsh by their charter. The New Marsh, which is still its name, was doubtless made into good land by the ditches (still there), and by the sea walls, which I have seen, but which are now nearly all covered by the Port Talbot Dock Railways.

The acquisition of this piece of land is the only alteration of the boundary from the right or further bank of the Afan, in any part of the estate, from the foundation of Margam Abbey in A.D. 1147 to the present day; the boundary of the estate, also that of the parish, is the same (with the exception of the piece of land east of Hafodheulog), after it leaves the Morfa Newydd (new marsh), to-day as it was 756 years ago.

Morgan Gam died in February, A.D. 1240-41, and was buried at Margam; and, no doubt, the monks buried him with no regrets.

His grandson Leysan, Lord of Avene, son of Morgan vazan (fychan the little) granted (*T.* 190; *C.* MLXXV) to the Abbey, free power to impark within the limits of his demesne any kind of animals found upon the adjacent "Walda" surrounding the lands called Cormerchs and Neumerchs, on the south side of Avene water, at the rate of $\frac{1}{2}d.$ each, towards the maintenance of the "Walda;" some honest receiver being found who shall render account of the sums demanded to the cellerar of Margam and the chief bailiff of Avene.

The grandson of Sir Leisian Dauene—who was the first to use the surname—Sir Thomas de Avene, had disputes with Margam Abbey with regard to the reparation of the Abbey "Walda" and the ditches of Morfa Newydd. But on the Abbot showing, by the production of the charters of Leisan and Morgan (I think this must be an error for Owein; there would not be two brothers named Morgan), sons of Morgan ap Caradoc, and the confirmation of Morgan Gam their brother, their right to the soil annexed to the Walda on both sides thereof, an agreement was entered into (*T.* 222; *C.* MCLXXII), and Sir Thomas rati-

fied the Charters and agrees not to hinder the Abbey workmen; with provision for impounding the cattle of either straying, and the punishment of men of either party trespassing.—Margam, 1 Jan., A.D. 1349.

Morgan, son of Owen, who gave Hafod-heulog to Margam, had a dispute with Neath Abbey, and burned it and 400 sheep, and four shepherds perished in the fire, a monk and a lay brother being seriously wounded. We have seen that he injured Margam as well.

In A.D. 1223 some wicked persons burned in one week upwards of 1,000 sheep and two houses belonging to Margam. In the year following, 1224, the Welsh again attacked the Abbey servants, and killed a boy tending sheep.

PENHYDD WAELOD.

In the early part of the thirteenth century, Yorwerth, son of Ethenard, gives to the Abbey the land of Pennudh-Penhydd ("the land of the Stag's head"). Also Alaithur,¹ son of Ethenard, gives the land of Penhydd, probably another part, to the Abbey.

About the same time Luelin, son of Rired,² grants all his land of Pennudh and abjuration of all his land of Hembroc. Hembroc, or Embroch, or Embro, as it is variously spelled, is called to-day Mynydd Embroch (Embroch mountain), and lies south-west of Penhydd. I will give what I think is the derivation of the word later on.

The Abbey was not allowed peaceful possession of this grange, for in A.D. 1227, according to the *Annales de Margam*, p. 35, we find that the Welsh from the hill country—the *hinterland*—destroyed the grange and killed many of the "Animals," i.e., sheep and oxen, in great number. At the same time they destroyed the granges of Rossaulin (Resolven or Rhesolven, in the Neath Valley), and Theodoric in Margam and other places; for the annalist writes, pp. 20, 25: "Rursum diversis in locis domos nostras succenderunt;" "In quibus igne greges ovium magni perierunt."

¹ Occurs in A.D. 1213.

² Occurs in A.D. 1119.



We have a very early notice of coal being worked on this grange in a grant by Owein, son of Alaythur. He grants certain lands between the source of the Frudel, the nearest approach the Norman scribe could get to Ffrwdwyllt (at which some of my readers will not wonder), and the road leading from Pennud to Blain Kenan—Blaen Cynon—and between the rivulet Blein-nant-lieuth-leurch—Blaen-nant of to-day, near to Torre-kemerev—an attempt to master Tor-y-Cymry—and Nant-disculua. This word, Nant Dysgwylfa, no doubt sorely puzzled the poor monk.

Owein in another grant, *circa* A.D. 1249 (*Harley Charter* 75 B 4, CXXVII), gives the monks all the “stony coal” (*totum carbonum lapideum*) in his and his men’s lands with ingress and egress for two-wheeled and four-wheeled carts and other vehicles—“cum libero ingressu et egressu tam cum bigis et quadrigis quam aliis vecturis prout eisdem commodius visum fuerit” for half a mark beforehand and on Christmas Eve (in *Vigilia Natalis Domini*) the yearly rent of half a crannoc¹ of wheat so long as the monks use the coal. The monks undertake to compensate Owein for all damage done by their coal working to his arable land, “quicquid vero dampni incurrerim vel perdiderim de terra arribili per fossionem dicti carbonis predicti monachi mihi restituent per visum bonorum et legalium virorum.”

This coal was worked in the neighbourhood of Bryn, where coal is worked to-day, but I never thought until I saw this deed in the British Museum that coal was worked there nearly seven hundred years ago.²

Owen, for some reason or other did much injury to the Abbey property; but this came to an end, and a record is left us (*T.* 145; *C.* MCCCXVII) in an agreement made in A.D. 1246, between Owen, Rees and Cradoc, sons of Alaythur, and the monks. Owen and his brothers

¹ Crannoc, Crynog, a local ancient measure used in this district previous to the Uniformity Act of 1826. It was equal to 10 bushels (*History of Llangynwyd* by Cadrawd, p. 154).

² Some of the Margam Abbey deeds were probably taken to London on the dissolution of the monastery, and then found their way to the British Museum.

having injured the Abbey property to the extent of £324 (a sum in our money of between £4,000 and £5,000), they give various grants to the Abbey, and undertake by oath upon the sacred reliques at Margam that they will not depasture their cattle in Abbey lands, nor occupy the Abbey houses, nor fish in the waters of Neth (Neath), under penalty of excommunication and denial of church burial. The grants of land and coal were probably the friendly result of this agreement.

John de Eggescliffe, Bishop of Llandaff A.D. 1339, notifies in obedience to Apostolic letters exhibited to him by Hugh Everard, monk of Margam and Proctor of the Abbey, he has confirmed to the Abbot and Convent the possession of the tithes of sheaves and of hay in their lands of upper and lower Pennuth and elsewhere.

At the commencement of the sixteenth century the Abbot having become simply a great landowner, and the activity and zeal of the Cistercian Order having become enfeebled, a symptom of decay shows itself in the leasing of the granges hitherto farmed by the Abbey by the labour of the *conversi*. The lay brethren, as we have seen stated by Dom Gasquet, ceased to be welcome at the Abbeys, and the result of this and the wealth acquired by the monks, and the gradual abandonment of the austere life they formerly led, was the leasing of the granges and other lands to secular persons.

Abbot David—to give him his full name, David ap Thomas ap Howell—began the new order of things. Mr. Clark says that Abbot David was the third son of Thomas ap Jevan by Madryn Stradling (Stradling is a corruption of le Esterling, the name of one of the Norman knights; Jevan was the fourth son of Rhys Vychan, ancestor of Powell of Llandow).

It would seem that some of the charges levelled at the monasteries by Henry VIII were true, for Abbot David had several natural children who are frequently mentioned in the local pedigrees.¹

The fishings (always so jealously guarded by the monks) are even let and Abbot David leases (*T.* 274; *C.* MCCCIV) to Jevan ap Hopkyn ap Willyam, gentleman,

¹ Dr. Birch, *Margam Abbey*.

all the fishing in the Afan river, from the ford called "Reyde Epollon Deon in Avenys waters to the pette called Polle Robyn."

The lease, dated 8th March, 1509 (1510), was for seventy years, and the rent is thus stated, "payng yerle the rente and ferme for the seyd fysching to the seyd abbat or couent othyr hys successures fro Hogday¹ unto owre Lades Day in the harvoste four chellinges forty sewins (sewin) and seventeen samonys."

Even at this date the monks had learned no Welsh, although they and their predecessors had lived so long in the land; and we still see desperate attempts at spelling. Some of my readers will not be surprised when they find that Reyde Epollon Deon should be Rhyd-y-pyllau-duon, the Ford of the Black Pools, called to-day Black-wells (near Cwmavon). The word Deon is the nearest approximate pronunciation of Duon. Polle Robyn, which looks so like a girl's name, is Pwll Robin, or Robin's Pool. This is a well-known spot on the river Afan, near where the boundary of the parish leaves the further bank of the river to traverse the mountains; it is also near the Ford of Gyfylchu,² the ford mentioned in the charter of William, Earl of Gloucester, as Redekewelthi. This word the monks ever stumbled at; they did their best and wrote Kewelthi, Keuelhi, Keweletth-hi. The scribe who wrote it Keweletth-hi got hold of the last letter, and doubtless was proud of it, for "u" is "i" in sound, Norman "i."

And now I have a picturesque scene to relate of Penhydd Waelod. *Harley Charter* 75 A 49 (C. MCCCXIX) gives the text of the deposition of the Jury in the Court of John, Abbot of Margam concerning the boundaries of the grange of Penhydd Waelod, Penhydd lower.

Abbot David now like Solomon, slept with his fathers, and Abbot John had taken on him his mitre. Before he

¹ Hognight was New Year's Eve, so presumably Hogday was the last day of the year (Dr. Brown's *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*, p. 410.)

² Gyfylchu. Cy, an abbreviation of Cyd, which means united, and Fylchu, the plural of Bwlch, gaps or passes, meaning the intersection of the passes or gaps.

died he leased the grange to Thomas ap Griffith ap David Wahan, and Margaret, verch (daughter of) David ap Philip, his wife, for seventy years, at a yearly rent of thirteen shillings and fourpence and a "herriett." The lease is dated in the Chapter-House, Margam, 30th Dec., A.D. 1516.

The jury of twelve under oath find the boundaries to be from the corner of Jevan Thuys' close, beyond the pool, to Lether Teley or Telley,¹ to the high road off the road through the gorse moor to Talken' Henglawth;² then along the old foss to gorse moor,³ through the middle of the moor of the coal-pit, where lie two stones; then to the old foss of the meadows called Gweyn Deveyd;⁴ then to the stones called Mayn Lloydon,⁵ to the high road beyond the road of Keven-y-Garne Issa;⁶ then between the stones called y' Garn', to Garn' Ycha;⁷ then to the well near the close of Gruff ap Rees.

And the said Thomas ap Gruff' (Griffith) swore to these boundaries on a book of the Gospels, and carried the book, in accordance with the curious custom of the Manor, along all the above boundaries.—Margam, 11th Oct., 1519.

The last Abbot of Margam, Ludovicus (or Lewis) Thomas, just short of five years before the end came, leased the Afan fishing to Llewelyn ap Hopkine David Grayh for forty years, "From the foorde callyd Ryde y ppollon' Deon (note the fanciful spelling this time), to the forde called Ryde y Banalle,⁸ benneth the myle" (mill), the rent being 'x Samones v gylllynges⁹ XLIII^{te}

¹ Lether Teley. Llethr, a slope, and Tyle, steep.

² Talken Henglawth. Talcen Henglawdd, the head of the old embankment.

³ Gorse Moor = gors mawr, the great bog; gors for cors, a bog; moor for mawr, great; old foss, ffôs, a ditch.

⁴ Gweyn Deveyd. Gwaun Defaid, sheep meadow.

⁵ Mayn Lloydon. Maen Llwydion, maen, stone; llwydion, gray; gray stone.

⁶ Keven y Garne Issa, Cefn-y-garn Isaf, the ridge of the lowest cairn.

⁷ Garn Ychaf. Uchaf, the highest cairn.

⁸ Rhŷd y Banalau, Ford of the Broom, *Cytisus Scoparius*; Rhŷd, a ford; Banalau, broom.

⁹ Graylings. It is said the monks brought the grayling into this country from the Continent.

suwynges to be payd at the usuale tyme of the yere or elles viij^d for euery samone and iij^d for euery gyllyng, and for euery cuple sewinges i^d, and the sayd samonsy yerely to be payd befor the fest of the purificacion of oure Lady, and the other said fyshes to be paid before the nativite of our Lady." I have not been able to find out what the fish named "gyllynges" might be.

Lewis Thomas surrendered his Abbey on February 28th, A.D. 1537, into the hands of a greedy and rapacious king; and then, when almost near the promise of spring, the monks wandered forth, and all seem'd winter still to them. The Abbaty, as the Welsh call it—father's house, for the Abbot fed the poor—fell, to rise no more.

HAFOD.

The last part of the notes on Penhydd Waelod ended in gloom and winter and sadness; and now I bring you to summer, for Hafod means "the summer abode;" haf, summer; bod, house or dwelling; the "b" being dropped for the sake of euphony.

This Grange is in the hamlet of Hafod-y-Porth, as the former granges are. The chapel of this farm existed until recently, and the field on which it stood is called Waun-y-capel, "Chapel meadow." While in the Law Courts, a year or so ago, I was fortunate in seeing on an Admiralty Chart made in A.D. 1859, the chapel marked thereon, and from that I was able to mark it on the Ordnance Map, and so preserve a record, at any rate, of its exact position. In an old Map by John Speed, A.D. 1610, it is marked as Hauod-aport chapel.

The lands of Hafod lie in the beautiful Dyffryn valley: this is tautology, as both words mean nearly the same thing, Dyffryn being composed of two words, *dwfr*, water, and *hynt*, a way or course; the word Dyffryn therefore meaning a valley through which a river finds its way. The river running through the valley has the picturesque name of Ffrwdwyllt; the Rudelf of William, Earl of Gloucester's, Charter and the Frudel of Owein's grant: it means "wild stream;" *ffrwd*, stream or torrent; *wyllt*, *gwyllt*, wild or rushing.

The sons of Herbert were possessed of lands in Dyffryn; they gave the land Killeculum (or Gállt-y-cwm as it is now called) to the monks—the steep part in the valley, and truly it is a steep road to reach it! Gállt-y-cwm lies on Hafod's right hand to the north, but Hafod is the happier for the bright peep it has of the tumbling waters of the Hafren, as the Severn Sea is called in this land. Gállt-y-cwm looks right upon the lofty Mynydd Embroch, between which and it the Ffrwdwyllt flows, somewhat smaller here and not so turbulent. Hafod, too, can look on Mynydd Embroch, that steep old mountain, which seems to me to find its name from its attributes: Hen-bremòch I make it, the old steep mountain; from hen, old; “bre,” synonymous with “bryn” in the twelfth century, hill or mountain, mòch steep, shortened into easier Embroch.

Gállt-y-cwm received many strange spellings by the monks: Killeculm, Killeculum, Killecullum, Killialum; but in the *Harley Charter*, 75 c 29; *C.* DCCLXI, it is spelt in a most fanciful way, and the name sounds as if the monk was in playful mood as he wrote: Kidlicolum he put down. You will see why he was in this mood, for Griffin Latimer quit-claimed to the monks of Margam his right in the land of Kidlicolum (Gállt-y-cwm), on their giving him a shirt and breeches (*camisiam et braccas*); they gave him the money to buy a tunic and mantle as well.¹

Gállt-y-cwm stands 441 ft. above the sea, and therefore looks down on Penhydd, which is 417 ft., and Cil-y-gofid, 338 ft. above the sea level. Ty'n-y-fferm² (as on Ordnance Map) is 221 ft.

The narrow lanes of monastic times still exist in the hamlet of Hafod-y-Port, in Dyffryn valley, some near Hafod being only 6 ft. or 7 ft. in width. One of the lanes is mentioned in a deed, dated A.D. 1516, “as far as

¹ The cloth was “de burello.” “Panni spissioris ac vilioris, species, *Burrell, bureau, gros drap*” *Ducange*: a kind of thick coarse cloth, probably of a red colour (Dr. Birch, *Margam Abbey*). I think it was the “Brethyn Llwyd,” a woollen cloth made in Wales and worn by farmers; a brownish-grey in colour.

² Ty'n-y-fferm; short for Tyddyn-y-fferm, the house of the farm.

the lane called Rew Herbert." This lane, Rhiw Herbert, still exists; Rhiw means a steep path or roadway up a mountain side. In this deed the Ffredulles-Myll, Ffrwdwyllt Mill (corn) is leased. The mill exists still, but has recently been made into a woollen factory. In a deed of 1536 A.D., another lane is mentioned, the Troscol, "the road over the peak (of the mountain);" it is still so named.

I can easily understand why Hafod was given such a summer-like name: it has on either hand the loveliest little valley I have yet seen, particularly that on its right; neither is so ambitious a one as its parent, the Dyffryn. The one on the right, or north, is the Cwm Wenderi, properly Cwm Waun-dderi; Cwm is also valley, or dingle rather, as "coombe" in Devonshire, "the valley or dingle of the meadow of the oaks."

If you climb up the Hafod mountain out of the valley, you see below you the ruins of a house called "Maes dwfn," from "maes," a field; "dwfn," deep or low. And on the top the view is strange; you seem to be in a different world, mountain after mountain being heaped together, and succeeding each other as far as the eye can reach.

On those hills the battles of bygone days were fought between Roman and Briton, and, later still, between Norman and Welsh. On Hafod mountain is Bryn Allwyn, "the hill of sorrow" or "of grief," whence come the wailings of the mothers who find their dead, the dead who spoke the "lingua nimborum," as the Romans called it, "the language of the rain clouds;" and up in the rain-clouded mountain tops the Romans truly found much trouble. Close to Hafod, too, is Cwm Lladdfa, "the dingle of slaughter"—ominous name! It opens out of Cwm Cerdinen, "the dingle of the mountain ash," as if it bore in its bright red berries the remembrance of the effusion of blood near by. "Cwm," dingle; "lladdfa," slaughter.

Again, as you stand on Hafod Mountain, you see past Gállt-y-cwm; and nearer to you than Penhydd Waelod which you can also see, a farm called Cŷl-y-gofid, "the nook or retreat of affliction." Here, perhaps, a group of

soldiers fought to the last, surrounded by the enemy. "Cil," nook or retreat; "gofid," affliction.

There, too, three miles north-east of Hafod, is a field of battle, and a noted one it must have been, for it is called the "Tor-y-Cymry," the swell or boss (of the mountain) of the Welsh. Why of the Welsh? when all the mountains were of the Welsh? It clearly points to some notable battle on the site held by, or captured by, the Welsh. As usual, the monks made a terrible word of Tor-y-Cymry: Torkemerev, Toykemerev. Near by is Nant Dysgwylfa and Pen Dysgwylfa, "the hollow of the watching-place," and "the top of the watching-place."

Now, of Nant Dysgwylfa, which they wrote Nantiscoilua. There are two words used in connection with this name which I cannot make out, in a grant or quit-claim by Jowain ab Justin to Margam of all the land at Pennud (Penhydd): "*Totam terram que est inter rivum Bleinant-lineuthleuerich proximum Toykemerev et Nantiscoilua usque ad viam que vadit a Pennuth.*" The river Blaen-Nant is easy; but Lineuthleuerich is a puzzle. I hope some of my readers may be able to make the strange word out. The road over the Tor is called "Rhiw-Tor-y-Cymry."

A little way south and east of Hafod, and just a mile from Bryn Allwyn, Prince's Gravestone lies: it is that of a British Prince—Bodvoc—probably killed in battle, for close by are numerous entrenchments, Roman and British.¹ The lettering on the stone is as clear to-day as when it was cut—some fourteen hundred years or more ago. What a long and lonely watch it has kept by the warrior lying there, still faithfully giving us his name, as it did to the Norman monks when they came! I give a sketch of the Bodvoc stone. There is a tradition here, that anyone who reads the words aright will soon after die. I think the cross on the stone top was added by the monks, who knew from the formula, "*hic jacit*," that Bodvoc was a Christian, and wished so to consecrate the

¹ Near by is a Roman camp, having a later British camp around it: it is called Bwlwarcan. South of the stone, half a mile, is a Roman halting camp.

burial-place, and to show to passers-by that it was so; and that Bodvoc slept "dan ei grwys," as the Welsh love ever to say of the dead, "he sleeps under his Cross"—Grwys, a corruption of Croes.

The inscription has puzzled many; but Professors



Rhys, Westwood and Hübner have made out the true reading to be "Bodvoci hic jacit filius Catotigirni pronepus Eternali Vedomavi," "Here lies the body of Bodvoc, the son of Catotigirnius, the great-grands on of Eternalis Vedomavis."

In an old account of Glamorgan, which contains a map by John Speed, dated A.D. 1610, is the following, refer-

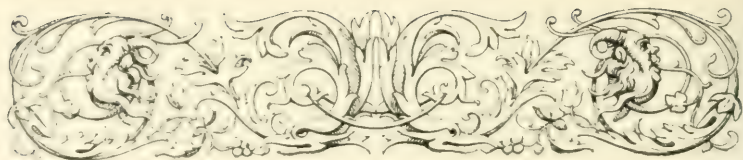
ring to the Bodvoc stone :—" And upon the same shoare more North and by West (than Newton, near Porthcawl), on the top of a hill called *Minyd Margan*, is erected a monument inscribed with a strange character ; and as strange a conceit held thereof by the by-dwellers, whose opinions are possessed, that if any man reade the same, he shall shortly after die."

The stone keeping watch by Bodvoc is a water-worn boulder of Pennant sandstone, and it stands close to the source of the Kenfig river. I believe the stone is referred to in the Abbey Deeds as the Maen Llwyd, the gray stone. The Welsh call it the "Carreg Llythyrenog," "the lettered stone." Near it is the "Crug-y-Diwlith," which was supposed to mean the dewless mound ; but, no doubt, the meaning is the "Mound of the Lesson from God ;" Duw-, God : -lith, a lesson. The bards of Tir Iarll, "the Earl's land," assembled on the 24th June each year, alternately on the Crug, Llangynwyd Church and Bettws Church, to hold their Gorseddau. When the parish boundaries were "beaten," the clergy used to address the people from the Crug.

The Bodvoc Stone is known to antiquaries all over the world, and a description and sketch of it appears in Professor Hübner's *Inscriptiones Britannicæ Christianæ* ; and also in Professor Westwood's *Lapidarium Walliæ*. A little south of Hafod, and a mile or so east of the Bodvoc Stone, are two tumuli : one is called the Ergyd Uchaf, on the 1,000 ft. contour line, and the Ergyd Isaf, on the 800 ft. contour line. Ergyd means a shot or flight ; uchaf, higher ; isaf, lower. These were the signalling stations of Romans or of British ; and doubtless from one to other has gleamed forth the fiery signal that told of the enemy's approach, and called the Welsh to gather to defend the ancient land of their fathers.

(To be continued).

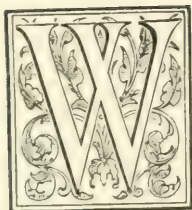




OATLANDS IN WEYBRIDGE.

BY S. W. KERSHAW, F.S.A.

(Read November 5th. 1902.)

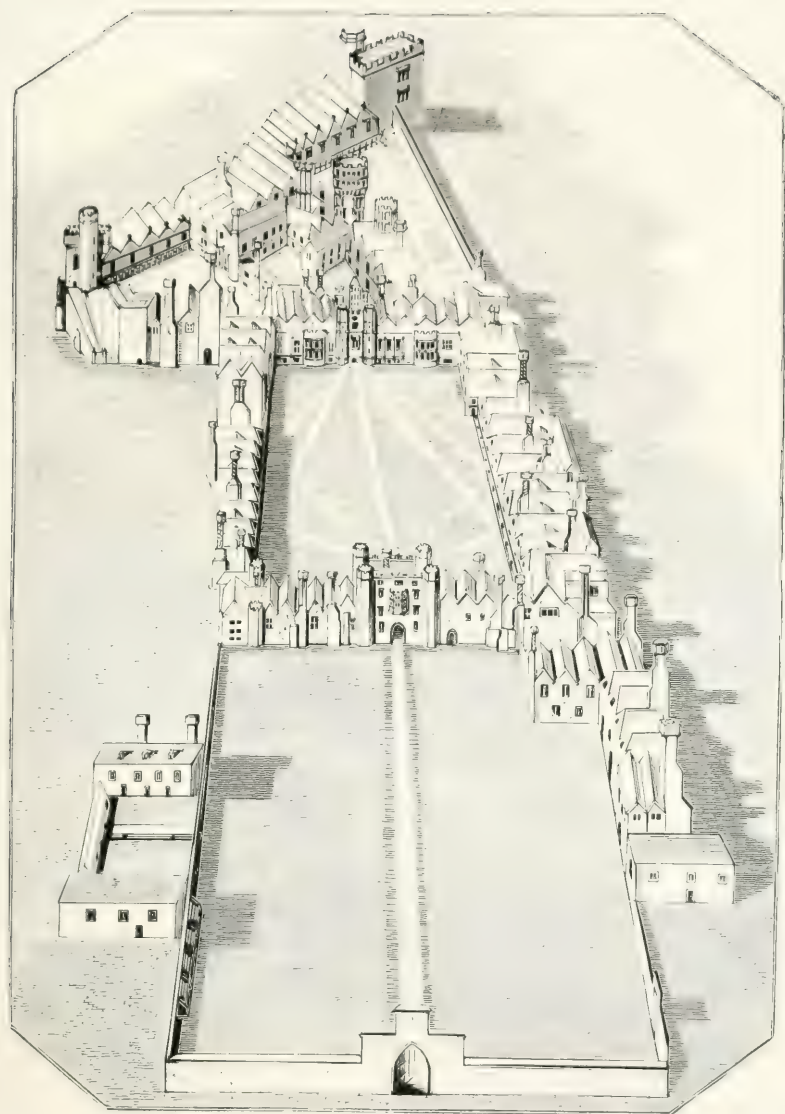


THE first read of this manor in the reign of Henry VIII, who often came here from Hampton Court for the pleasures of the chase.

The mansion was built by that King, and many later additions were made.

The manor was conveyed to Henry VIII by indenture, dated 1538, in consideration of a grant from that sovereign of the site and demesne lands of Tunbridge in Kent, and some in Surrey. The name was anciently spelt Otelands, Otland, Otheland, and Owte-land, and the owners had long held the manor lands of Byfleet and Weybridge by leases from the Crown.

Royal houses round London were more numerous than to-day. They served as resting-places for the "progresses," so fashionable with the Tudor and early Stuart sovereigns. These "progresses" made royalty popular, encouraged displays, spent money, and generally brought together the higher and lower classes for the good of State and country. The Surrey historians, Manning and Bray, are nobly represented in the British Museum, by an interleaved copy in twenty-five volumes, with sketches in colour, pencil and otherwise, or engravings, of the churches, mansions, and antiquities in that county. Volume xvi of this work contains several views of Oatlands; and one in water-colour, from a drawing by Antonio Van Wyngaerd (1559), shows the structure to be of brick, and in general



THE OLD PALACE AT OATLANDS.

appearance somewhat resembling one of the Cambridge colleges. An outer court led to the inner quadrangle, oblong in form, leading again through a second gateway to a smaller enclosure. Octagonal turrets, gabled roofs, and enriched chimney-shafts, gave a very picturesque aspect to the whole house, which was on low ground.

The same volume has a plan of the gardens and the later house of the Earl of Lincoln, surveyed by Rocque in 1737 : a house which stood on higher ground than the old Palace. There are also engravings of this building in the Print Room of the Museum. Care seems to have been taken from time to time to keep Oatlands in good order, and the *Additional MSS.* (34,195, fo. 15), British Museum, has the following accounts of repairs in 1600 :—

“Otelands in makinge of tables, fourmes, and cubbords, a new brige in the parke, with newe particions in diuerse lodginge settinge up newe dressers, making a newe battle-howse, for her matie joystinge and bourdinge (boarding) of flowers (floors), tylinge over sundry lodgings, sondering faults and layinge of newe lead, of the lodgings, lathing and layinge of sundry particions, newe mattinge and mendinge sundry lodgings with newe joyned work, iron work and glasinge as by months books

“appeareth.

“(Aug., Sep., 1600)

cxlix ii vi.”

One of the signatures to this account was Lord Treasurer Buckhurst.

Oatlands was a Royal abode from the time of Henry VIII to the Commonwealth, when it was nearly all destroyed. Two houses have since been built in or near the old Palace, both to disappear, and to be succeeded by “Oatlands Park,” all that now remains to identify by name the site of the home of our early sovereigns ! In the inventory of goods (Henry VIII) of this and other royal mansions, mention is made (*Harleian MSS.*, No. 1419) of “The Guarderober at the Manor of Otelands in the charge of Sir Anthony Brown Knight.”

In Elizabeth’s reign Oatlands was a favourite resort, probably from its comparative nearness to Nonsuch, one of the Queen’s chief houses, and many State papers and letters are dated from both these noted places. James I

and his Queen, Anne of Denmark, frequently lived here, dividing their time between Theobalds and Wanstead, and the town mansions of Whitehall and St. James'. The English had long envied France her monopoly of the silk manufacture, and James I issued instructions to the deputy-lieutenants of counties, that they shall require landowners to plant mulberry trees; and he granted a licence to one Wm. Slattinge to print a book of instructions on the subject. We read of a warrant in 1611 to "pay Wm. Slattinge £258 2s. 5*d.* disbursed by him for mulberry leaves for His Majesty's silkworms" (*Domestic State Papers*).

The King had a mulberry garden planted at Pimlico in 1609, on what is now the site of Buckingham Palace. Sedley sang its praises, and Dr. King says:

"A princely palace on the space doth rise
Where Sedley's noble muse found mulberries."

Royal patronage resulted in the advent of foreign weavers and dyers to England, causing a considerable silk trade in London. This influx increased so much that the Silk Weavers' Company petitioned the Lords of the Council against the merchant strangers, as stated in the "Remembrancia Records of the City of London," *circ.* 1614.

Queen Anne had a "silk-worm room" built at Oatlands, probably designed by Inigo Jones, who had been made Surveyor to Prince Henry of Wales, and Steward to James I, and would doubtless have had charge of the whole Palace. A trace of the architect's work remained in an arched gateway on one side of the park, repaired by the Earl of Lincoln in 1726, with the inscription:

"Henricus comês de Lincoln, hunc arcum,
Opus Ignatii Jones, vetustate corruptum restituit."

The Queen's house at Greenwich was begun by Jones's designs in 1617; and it is well known that the masques at Whitehall, so fashionable an entertainment, were produced under this architect's superintendence.

James I granted Somerset House to his Queen, Anne of Denmark, and had it called Denmark House, and the

chapel there was designed by Inigo Jones. To him was also attributed the Queen's or Friary Chapel in St. James' Palace, begun in 1623, and afterwards used by Henrietta Maria.

This architect's works all over England are too numerous to specify ; in Surrey, besides Oatlands, little is associated with him, although some part of Old Dulwich College claims his skill ; he was, moreover, an intimate friend of Edward Alleyn, its founder.¹

It would seem that Oatlands was greatly favoured by James I in 1609 : the State Papers mention " An order for selling Yonge Grove in Oatlands Park, for breeding the King's pheasants there ;" and at the same time " a warrant for enlarging the Park to those who agree to sell their estates,—another for repairs about the Park, and the fences thereof."

The art of gardening had long become a recognised feature in these large houses ; primness of design had been followed by the more luxuriant taste of the later Tudors ; and fountains, summer-houses, and statues graced the avenues or embellished the broad terraced walks.

The graphic words of the late J. R. Green, the historian of the "English People," exactly illustrate the architectural change which then took place : "The strength of the mediæval fortress gave way to the pomp and grace of the Elizabethan hall. We still gaze with pleasure on the picturesque line of gables, the fretted fronts, the gilded turrets and fanciful vanes, the castellated gateways, the jutting oriels, from which the great noble looked down on his new Italian garden : on its stately terraces and broad flights of steps, its vases and fountains, its quaint mazes, its formal walks, its lines of yews cut into grotesque shapes, in hopeless rivalry of the cypress avenues of the South."

Hentzner, a German traveller, visited the gardens at Nonsuch and Theobalds in the late sixteenth century ; the new ideas from Italy and abroad had then been engrafted on the traditional style of the earlier plaisance

¹ W. Young, *History of Dulwich College*, 1889.

enclosed by high walls, and formal walks. Many writers discussed this growing fashion: Lord Bacon, in his *Essay on Gardens*, while Burleigh, the acknowledged patron of Gerard, whose *Herbal*, printed in 1599, was a standard authority on plant lore. In 1604 we read of a "grant by Queen Anne to John Gerard of the lease of a garden plot adjoining Somerset House, on condition of supplying her with herbs, flowers, and fruit" (*Calendar of State Papers*, 1603-10, p. 141).

In 1619, we read of "payments for planting new and rare fruits, flowers, herbs, and trees in the King's Gardens at Oatlands." Nearer London, the gardens at Fulham Palace had long been famed for rare trees and shrubs, mainly introduced by Bishop Grindal; while some specimens still survive to tell the story of bygone horticulture.

According to Fuller's *Worthies of England*, the tamarisk was brought into this country by that Prelate from Switzerland, where he had been in exile under Queen Mary; his vineyard also was highly reputed. In Bishop Compton's days (1675-1713), the grounds were very noted, rare plants and exotic shrubs having been collected by that Bishop. The cork and black walnut trees were specially noted.

In the year 1639, mention occurs of a warrant to pay an allowance of £100 per annum to John Tradescant, keeper of H.M. Gardens at Oatlands. The Tradescants, of foreign birth, famous for their knowledge of gardens, lived at Lambeth, where their botanical museum was very extensive, and visited by persons of all rank. The collection, which became the property of Elias Ashmole, forms one of the treasures of the Ashmolean Museum. The tomb of the Tradescants is in Lambeth churchyard. Charles I and his Queen lived more frequently at Oatlands than their predecessors; in 1627 the house and park were granted to Henrietta Maria, who little foresaw the disasters that were to follow when, to avoid the wrath of the people, she withdrew here, in 1642, from Whitehall. The woods round Oatlands afforded the King that love of sport which was a part of his nature—from

Hampton Court to this Palace must have been nearly all forest land. To gratify the royal pastime many private rights were infringed; and we cannot be surprised that popular discontent ensued, and was strengthened as time went on. In 1631 this grievance is referred to in the *Domestic State Papers* as follows:—"Divers persons about Kingston have begun to stock up certain woods to the hindrance of H.M. recreation, and some of Moulsey have enclosed certain Common grounds, through which the way lies to the Court and Oatlands." We read also of large bands of people hunting down the King's deer in Oatlands and Windsor. The enclosure of Richmond Park for the King's hunting met with like displeasure.

The Park at Oatlands claims due notice. Like the parks attached to Nonsuch, Croydon, and other manors, it had its regularly-appointed custodians, of whom frequent mention is made in the *State Papers* of Elizabeth and the Stuarts. One of these keepers, John Selwyn, was a skilful huntsman; and, at a great stag-hunt, he suddenly leapt from his horse on the back of the stag, both running at their utmost speed. He kept his seat and killed the stag: an incident portrayed on a monumental brass to his memory in Walton Church.

Another and different event happened at Oatlands in 1636, when the so-called "plague" was raging. Divers Londoners obtained houses at Hampton Court, Oatlands, and Nonsuch; their residence there is said to have imperilled the Royal household, and justices of the peace were charged to remove all such persons; and that sheds were to be built within the prohibited distance of these palaces, and the sick to be moved into them.

The Civil War was soon raging all over Surrey, and the fortified houses were surprised; but orders were given not to put any forces into Oatlands and Richmond.

The timber round this, as in other royal homes, was felled for the use of the Navy, and payments for compensation were often enforced.

Thus, in 1651, the Surveyors for Surrey. "estimate the damage done to Oatlands Park by felling trees, heaving them, making saw-pits, routing the ground with

cartage, and breaking pales, at £10;" and the devastation of historical buildings was dire indeed—a fact noticed by the *State Papers* of the day. "No events had wrought so great a change in rural England as on the feudal seats of the nobility and gentry during the Civil Wars."

With the general disruption, that of personal property followed; and the jewels, goods, and plate belonging to Charles I, were sold by order of Council of State (1649-1651): a minute description of them is to be found in the *Harleian MSS.* (No. 4,890). This inventory also mentions pictures at the King's houses—of Richmond, Wimbledon, and Greenwich—the choicest were at Whitehall and Hampton Court, and certainly so representative a series shows the artistic taste of the King. Those at Oatlands were eighty-one in number, chiefly copies after Titian, Tintoretto, and Raphael, of landscape, sea views, and sacred subjects. There were also tapestry hangings (some of Mortlake and other looms), as well as cushions, enriched chairs, and velvet carpets. A catalogue of the King's pictures, bronzes, and other curiosities was printed in 1751, by Vertue, the famous engraver.

The arts distinctly acquired an ascendancy under Charles I, who invited foreign painters to his court, and commissioned artists to copy for him.

After the Restoration, Henrietta Maria regained possession of Oatlands in its dilapidated state, and restitution of goods was made her—goods which had been extorted from the wardrobe-keepers, and sold by the usurped powers to persons in and around London: one of the many episodes of that time of "disaster and disorder."

We learn that a great part of the river Wey had been cut through the King's grounds, and that the "locks and bridges were built with materials taken from the King's house at Oatlands." After the Queen's death, in 1669, the estate came into the hands of Sir Edward Herbert, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, who was attainted by William III for his partisanship with James II in the invasion of Ireland. Oatlands then reverted to the Crown, passing, in 1716, to the seventh Earl of Lincoln,



who formed the gardens and built a new house on the terrace, some distance from the site of the famous Palace. It was this Earl who repaired the gateway, designed by Inigo Jones, in the first house.

Dr. Pocock (Bishop of Meath and Ossory), who journeyed through England in 1751, thus wrote in his *Travels*, printed in the Camden Society's volume 45 :—" I passed through Weybridge to Oatlands (Earl Lincoln's), famous for a terrace, lengthened by the present Earl ; it is over a hanging ground, at the foot of which is a meadow, bounded by a serpentine river, which with the Thames seems to form a large island. There is an enclosure for all sorts of exotic plants, that will thrive abroad, with boards placed over them on which their names are cut. At the end of the terrace is one of Inigo Jones's gates, with an inscription on it."

The second house here described was destroyed by fire in 1794, and a third, in the castellated and Pointed style, after the design of Mr. Holland, the architect of Drury Lane Theatre, was erected. It is likely that Holland would have been employed, as he had designed the entrance to Featherstonhaugh House (afterwards Dover House, Whitehall, destroyed a few years ago), for the Duke of York, as well as many Royal and noblemen's mansions. Brayley, however, asserts that Mr. John Carter had the more immediate oversight of Oatlands ; he is better known for his works on monumental architecture and ancient painting.

An engraved view and description of this house appears in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. lxxviii (1808) ; the façade, entrance gateway, and clock-turret, are given, and the whole building was designed in what was known as " Strawberry Hill " Gothic. After the Duke of York's death a great part was pulled down, and in 1858 converted into the Oatlands Park Hotel. Dugdale, in his *British Traveller*, speaks of Oatlands : " a considerable part is in Walton parish." He further states : " On the side of a hill, and near a spacious piece of water, the late Duke of Newcastle constructed a grotto, the outside of which is a white stone full of perforations, and the inside incrustéd

with shells. It contains three rooms, in one of which is a bath supplied by a spring from the rock, and adorned with a copy of the *Venus de Medici*." This grotto is still preserved and shown as a curiosity.

Thus ends the story of Oatlands, once a landmark in Surrey's royal annals, passing through the havoc of Civil War, and soon after disappearing from national and local history. Its later reconstruction at the end of the eighteenth century is not without some interest, while its earlier existence was associated with the abode of the Stuart Kings, James and Charles, their habits and tastes. Both these Kings developed and maintained a love of horticulture, besides choice collections of paintings and art. Although one of the less-known houses in the county, Oatlands certainly commands the notice of the antiquary and historian, who will find constant reference to its occupation in *State Papers* and other documents.





THE MINING TRIBES OF ANCIENT BRITAIN.

BY REV. W. S. LACH-SZYRMA, M.A., VICAR OF BARKINGSIDE.

(Read April 15th, 1903.)



NE of the most difficult problems in our early British history is, that the best archæological remains in England of a remote epoch do not agree with the records of Britain that we have in old Greek and Roman classical authors. The Britain of Cæsar, and of the old Roman writers, does not seem the same as the Britain of the monuments. Cæsar depicts a hunting and a pastoral race : warlike, good horsemen, with great skill in direction of chariots, who fought naked, and were stained with war paint. The general idea we get is something not unlike that of the North American Indians whom Catlin describes, and about whom Fennimore Cooper wrote his romances ; a wild warrior race, tattooed or stained with woad : hunters and herdsmen, living in forests.

Now the archæological monuments we have of the period before the Christian era are of a different type. In Cornwall we get the best relics ; but there are other counties, *e.g.*, Devon, that possess remains that tell the same story. We have circular stone bee-hive huts ; dolmens, probably for the burial of the dead ; hill-forts, solid edifices, which may be as old as the age of Romulus or Numa, but which are massive enough to last till to-day ; processional stones leading to mystic rock-circles of massive blocks of granite, arranged usually in a sort of triadic order ; menhirs like the rude obelisks of a primitive people ; cave dwellings made by hand or else semi-natural,

but improved by art; cliff forts by the sea, with rock defences; old ditches and mine works; clan dwellings, almost like huge human ant-hills, formed for the dwelling apparently not merely of a rich chieftain but of a whole clan; and stone hatchets, and gold torques.

Now, how can we reconcile this discrepancy of the stone and the written record? Usually archæology illustrates history, but merely enlarges and explains the written narrative. Here it seems to contradict it.

One of the main difficulties of the historian is to reconcile his authorities. One seems to tell the story differently from another; but usually it is the same story from another standpoint. Here it is quite different.

There is one mode of explaining these differences, *i.e.*, by supposing that the records of Cæsar and others relate to the period of the Christian era (either a little before or after), and that these monuments belong to a remote antiquity.

This may be partially true, but it is weighted with the theory that a lower stage of culture superseded a higher; for certainly the "old men of Cornwall" were in some points more cultured than the rude Britons who fought Cæsar; they were dwellers in stone houses; they had apparently a complex system of religious worship, and that not exactly Druidical, for the stones rather than forest recesses were their temples. Again, most of these monuments may be very ancient; but some evidently must have been after the Roman Conquest, for they are inscribed; and even after the conversion of Cornwall to Christianity; indeed, there is reason to think that the Cornish-Celtic cross was a last Christianised survival of the old Celtic menhir, and crosses are found inscribed on menhirion.

May I suggest that, just as we can endeavour to illustrate some of the earliest problems of Neolithic and even Paleolithic Man in Europe by the existing records and habits and customs of primitive men in Australasia, so in this second stage of civilisation we can have some light thrown on our British problem by the American tribes found by the followers of Columbus, and even as they

exist (when unchanged by European influence) to this day in America.

Speaking roughly, we find in America even to this day two classes of Indians, *i.e.*, the hunter tribes, *e.g.*, the Iroquois, the Mohawks, etc., now in the Canadian reserves, and the Indians of the Western States: hunters and fishers by choice, living in the forests; and on the other hand the mining Indians of Central and South America, of whom the Peruvians, the Mexicans, and the ancient Mayas, were the most illustrious and cultured examples. In fact, we have the fierce hunting American Indian, loving the forest and living in huts, and the more settled Indian, who is a miner and digs for gold and other metals, sometimes even to this day.

If we may read the past history of Britain in early prehistoric times by the present, I would suggest that (1) for the later Stone Age we should take Australasia as our modern illustration, as I have done in a former paper read before our Association. (2) For the Bronze Age, the American Indians may be our teachers.

Fortunately, from a scientific standpoint, these Indians are not so so easily assimilated by the culture of Europeans and white men as the negroes, and retain even to this day, in some tribes, an independent attitude. What, then, do we see? or rather what did the discoverers of America find, which has partially (by the independent spirit of the American Indians) survived to our twentieth century? We find, I think:—

1. A series of nations or tribes of hunters and fishers living in the American forests, *e.g.*, the Iroquois, the Mohawks, and so on; a small portion of whom still survive even in this age of railways and electricity, and retain a few of their ancestral customs.

2. Mountain tribes of miners who still dig for the precious metal, and some of whom live when they can in stone houses, *e.g.*, the Pueblos Indians and the Indians of the Andes. Now, is not this pretty nearly a state of society which the writings of old Roman authors, *e.g.*, Cæsar, Tacitus, etc., describe?

What do the monuments of ancient Britain represent to us?

Probably, when Julius Cæsar came to Kent, or Claudius Cæsar stayed at Colchester, Britain was peopled by two classes of British tribes :—

1. The hunters and fishers, the wild warriors who “stript to fight,” and put on their war-paint like the Iroquois or Cherokees of old Colonial history; tribes who lived in wooden huts, and followed hunting, and rode in rude chariots.

2. The more peaceful mining tribes of the far West, not merely of Cornwall, but Devon, who lived in stone houses (as archæology shows us), and sometimes, it may be, in caves, who worshipped (as our Cornish tradition and folk-lore show) “the big stones,” *mon fira*¹ in Cornu-British, with rites founded on sun worship; and perchance sometimes used flowers in their summer festivals; who were buried under stone cromlechs and cairns, and reared rude obelisks or menhirion to commemorate national events. Such were the Cornu-Britons of old time, and such, in a higher grade of culture, were the Peruvians of America, and in a lower stage, to this day, the miner tribes of the Indians in the Andes.

The problem of the seeming contradiction of the archæological remains to the written records of old Latin writers is practically, I think, easy to solve. The one refers to the mining and hill-tribes of the West, the other to the hunting and pastoral warriors of the East and the Midlands.

There is a third minor problem that may just be referred to. In Kent and Essex, the parts near Gaul, archæology shows (as I have heard others plead before our British Archæological Association) a higher culture than is usually supposed. The antiquities of Colchester and elsewhere are not merely Roman, but apparently British, and Shakespeare’s drama of “Cymbeline,” representing Britain in the days of Augustine as not quite savage, is not so much an anachronism as was once supposed.

The hunting and pastoral tribes of Britain have left but few archæological remains. Their woodwork has

¹ *Mon* = stone, *fira* = great.

rotted away, their earthworks been mostly demolished. The stone remains of the mining tribes (especially when of massive Cornish or Devonshire granite) endure to this day. We can practically learn more about them, I think, than of the tribes that Julius Caesar fought; though it may be unwise to read into them (as Dr. Borlase and other eighteenth-century antiquaries did) the statements of classic lore. They probably belonged to a distinct group of tribes, perhaps Celtic, perhaps in part Iberian or Euskarian: hill-tribes of miners, who had come here from the Continent, and dug for metals in the Cornish and Devonian hills, *i.e.*, of Damnonium.

There are just five corollaries I would like to deduce from the side issues of this inquiry.

1. "How trade affects men." It does so even now in the amalgamating power of modern culture; it probably did so still more in primitive ages. The miner of to-day is a peculiar man; still more probably the miner of two thousand years ago. But the very working of metals implies something above the savage; and so the mining tribes of America were superior in culture to the rude warrior tribes of the Iroquois or Mohawks.

2. Britain was probably before the Christian era, as it is to-day in our twentieth century, peopled by many races. The mediæval notion of one monarchy and one nation of Britain in pre-Roman times will not hold water. Probably, almost certainly, many of the tribes were not Aryan at all, and the blending and intermarriage were doubtless less then than in modern times; savage tribes do not blend easily.

3. The mining tribes of Britain were not warriors to any great extent, nor do I think that primitive mining tribes anywhere were such. It would seem as if Damnonium surrendered almost without a struggle to the Romans, and became tributary. Few Roman remains, except coins, are found there. On the other hand, in cases of tribal wars, the Damnonii seem to have relied more on their cliff or hill-castles and fortifications than on their arms.

4. In comparing early European with American native institutions and antiquities, it is only just to remember

the early influence of Roman, and—through Rome—of Greek culture on Western Europe. One feels this at Colchester, which our British Archaeological Association so lately visited. Roman and Greek art has affected Britain for nearly two thousand years. In America it has been alien and exotic to the American Indian, and only influences the White Man. This is a difference. Many things, even in Wales, that are thought Celtic or Cymric, are really a tradition from the Roman occupation. In Cornwall, the *lan-an-gware* or amphitheatre was not, I think, so much Celtic as a rude provincial imitation of the Greek amphitheatre; and so perchance the Welsh Eisteddfod is a British reproduction of the Greek Olympic musical contests. This Greek or Roman element is an “x,” or unknown quantity, affecting many of our European archaeological problems. I do not, of course, give it the exaggerated importance of Borlase and most eighteenth-century antiquaries, but in European antiquities, after the Christian era and Augustine age, it must not be ignored.

5. To sum up. It seems to me that the evidence points to many distinct nations in Early Britain, some even ethnologically belonging to distinct races of the human family. It is unfair to suppose that all were one people. In considering the races of Britain, we ought always to remember the mining tribes, who have left us some of our most valuable and interesting archaeological monuments.





Proceedings of the Congress.

(Continued from p. 136.)

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 18TH, 1902.

A LARGE party of members and friends took train for Colchester. Here they were met by Dr. Laver, F.S.A., the guide for the day, and by Mr. J. Horace Round, who kindly placed his unrivalled knowledge of the Norman period at their disposal.

Driving up the steep hill which leads from the station to the town, one realises how well suited Colchester was for a place of defence, and one understands how Briton, Roman, and Norman, all in turn used it as such. The river Colne is crossed at the foot of the hill, and shortly afterwards the town is entered over the site of the Roman East Gate, which has disappeared. Proceeding to the Castle, the museum was first visited. This museum, now that it has acquired the "Joslin Collection," possesses one of the largest collections of British and Roman antiquities to be found in England; only York can be compared with it. The Roman pottery, Samian, Castor, and Upchurch (very little of this last), and glass—the latter especially—is unrivalled; indeed, one little two-handled, narrow-necked, amphora-shaped glass bottle is the finest specimen of its kind known. Of British remains from Lexden there are a considerable quantity, and these include several beautiful examples of Late-Celtic pottery, exhibiting the usual fondness for zoomorphic representations which is characteristic of that art, and which associates the art of Halstadt with that of Mycenæ. This Late-Celtic art survived, as Dr. Laver pointed out, right into the Roman period. A passing word must be given to the famous "Colchester Vase," with its spirited representation of a gladiatorial combat, and to the equally famous monument in memory of a centurion of the 20th Legion, which stands by the door of entrance; also to the beautiful leaf-shaped bronze swords, and other remains of the Bronze Age; and we take our stand with Dr. Laver in the courtyard of the keep, and listen to its history.

This Castle contains the largest rectangular keep in England. It was formerly four stories in height, but was reduced by wanton demolition in the eighteenth century to two stories, when the work of

destruction ceased, owing to the expense. It was erected by the Normans on the site of the Forum of Roman *Canalodunum*, as is proved by the finding of a row of shops and the pillars of the portico in laying out the Castle grounds as a park : and indeed the whole soil teems with Roman remains, coins, pottery, etc., and is entirely built of Roman materials, as are many other buildings in the town. Eudo Dapifer first planned it about 1090, but it was completed in the twelfth century. The foundations are laid on a series of concrete arches, and the walls are 31 ft. thick at the base, and 12 ft. thick above the plinth. The courtyard was formerly divided into three by two screens, but only one of these remain, and contains some good herring-bone work in Roman brick. The chapel was on the third floor, and is entirely gone ; part of the museum is in its crypt on the second floor.

Dr. Laver believes that the present entrance on the west side on the ground floor is original, as at Bamborough, Ludlow, and Malling ; but Mr. Round thinks that this is later, and that the original entrance was on the first floor on the east side, as was the more usual plan. For many years this Castle was used as a jail, and it was one of those visited and animadverted upon by John Howard, the philanthropist. After exploring the Castle, and viewing the spot in the grounds where Sir Chas. Lucas and Sir George Lyle were shot by order of Fairfax, after the siege in 1648, which is now marked by a cross put up by Dr. Laver, the visitors were admitted by Mr. J. Horace Round into the private grounds of Mr. James Round, M.P., where they perambulated the outer circumvallation, and were enabled to realise the strength of the fortress in Norman days. It was not so in the seventeenth century, when Fairfax brought the Royalists, who were holding the town for the King, to submission, by planting his cannon on the low heights surrounding the town at some little distance off, and blockading the place, the earliest instance known of such a procedure : this was in 1648, and it was after the surrender that Lucas and Lyle were shot. From the earthworks Mr. Round led the party to a neighbouring field, where the remains of a very fine Roman cloaca, leading from a villa, now buried beneath the Castle, to the river, was recently unearthed.

After lunch at the "Cups" Hotel, the remains of St. Botolph's Priory were visited. This priory was founded in 1109 by Ernulph, a monk, and the first prior, for Austin Canons, and was the first house of that Order to be established in England. In 1116 a Bull was obtained from Pope Paschal II, giving this priory precedence and power over all others of the Order that might be subsequently founded.

St. Botolph's Priory is a splendid example of Norman work. The west front and gateway are Early, and remind one of Castleacre, only here the material is Roman brick and tiles. The north-west door is later—about 1159—and is richly ornamented. The church was 108 ft. long, the nave $25\frac{1}{2}$ ft. in breadth, the aisles 9 ft. The north and south arcades are formed of massive piers of brick, $5\frac{1}{2}$ ft. thick. Only some of these remain, and this is due to the enterprise of three eighteenth-century churchwardens, who in 1780 "repaired the Pillars," a most unusual proceeding, and one deserving of all honourable recognition. Their names, inscribed on one of the piers, were "D. Foster, M. Hills, and Walter Ford." The caps of the piers are formed by two string-courses of brick, about 18 ins. apart. The interior was plastered originally, as may be seen from the fact that some of it still adheres. The remaining arches were repaired by Mr. Loftus Brock, late Hon. Sec. of this Association, in 1890. The buildings of the priory extended to the south, where the modern church of St. Botolph now stands, but all traces of them have disappeared. Some are shown in a view given by Speed in 1610.

St. Giles's Church, a much-dilapidated building, was next visited. Here a slab on the floor of the nave commemorates the burial-place of Lucas and Lyle, and the inscription tells how they were "in cold blood barbarously murdered" by Fairfax on August 28th, 1648. The original church was Early Norman, and there are some remains of a circular tower at the west end.

The only part of the great Abbey of St. John's still standing is the fine fifteenth-century gateway of rich flint-work, which was next visited. This was considerably damaged during the siege in 1648. The abbey was founded in 1096 by Eudo Dapifer, for Benedictine monks, and is interesting because the great builder, Gundulph, may have had a hand in it. The buildings were roofed with slate by the Norman founders.

On continuing the perambulation, the line of the Roman wall of the city was followed as far as the Balcerne Gate, when Dr. Laver described the construction of the wall and the gateway, with its adjacent guard chambers. The arch of the gate has been recently strengthened, but no attempt has been made to imitate the ancient work. This is an example that might well be more often followed. Tacitus describes the original fortifying of the city, which was destroyed by Boadicea in A.D. 60, and the inner parapet of the existing wall is built on the foundations of burnt houses, evidently dating from that catastrophe. The later Roman city of Camalodunum was not laid out according to the strict rules of castrametation, but was encircled by a wall 1,000 yards long on the north, 516 on the east, 550 on the

west, and 1,033 on the south, and Colchester is the only town in England at present encompassed by the actual Roman wall. The materials are tiles and septaria. In 924 Edward the Elder repaired the east side, "using much wood."

From the Balcerne Gate the party repaired to the fine modern Town Hall. Here they were received by the Mayor and Mayoress, and were hospitably entertained to tea; after which, on the motion of the Rev. H. D. Astley, Dr. Laver and Mr. J. Horace Round were heartily thanked for their kind attentions to the party, and Dr. Birch thanked the Mayor and Mayoress for their reception.

A final visit to Trinity Church, with its noble Saxon tower and triangular-arched west doorway, and to the house of Dr. William Gilbert, the author of the "*De Magnete*," brought a delightful day to a close.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 19TH, 1902.

The excursions to the Home Counties having been successfully accomplished, this day was devoted to Westminster Abbey in the morning and to Staple Inn in the afternoon. The members and friends assembled at Westminster Abbey at 11 a.m., and were received by Canon Hensley Henson, who conducted them through the building. Canon Henson gave a most clear and lucid description of all the many items of interest to be noticed, including the Chapter House, in which is stored many of the original charters of the monastery, and the cloisters and remains of Edward the Confessor's crypt. Here a cordial vote of thanks was accorded him for his services.

After leaving the Abbey, the party went to the Gymnasium of Westminster School, through the chapter garden, in order to see the iron-barred windows of the Chamber of the Pyx, but otherwise nothing was seen of the School.

In the afternoon Mr. T. Cato Worsfold met the party at Staple Inn, and pointed out the various buildings of interest external to the Great Hall, including the rooms which were occupied by Dr. Johnson; and then led the way to the Hall, where he read an excellent paper on "*The Story of Staple Inn*," since published. The book is reviewed below, p. 219.

The only meeting held during this Congress took place in the evening, at which Dr. Brushfield, F.S.A., read a paper upon "*Britain's Bourse, or the New Exchange*," before a goodly company. This paper is published in this volume, pp. 32-48 and 81-95.

Several other papers, contributed for the Congress, were taken a read; after which the proceedings terminated with the usual votes of thanks, and the Fifty-ninth Congress, which was in every way a success, was brought to a conclusion.

NOTES ON THE CONGRESS OF THE BRITISH
ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION AT SHEFFIELD,

AUGUST, 1903.

THE sixtieth Congress of this Association was held at Sheffield, August 10th to 15th inclusive. The programme provided for the visitors and friends was varied and interesting, and, with the exception of Friday, the week passed in unbroken fine weather, accompanied by real August warmth and sunshine. The localities visited included a prehistoric earthwork, a Roman camp, and a pre-Norman moated mound; Norman and other churches, and an Early English abbey; besides examples of Perpendicular and Elizabethan domestic architecture. To follow them in order, and to give a general idea of the week's work, rather than to take the programme item by item, is our object in this account, which is merely a *resumé*, full details being reserved for the report in next year's volume as usual.

The prehistoric earthwork is situated at Wincobank, on the summit of a lofty eminence overlooking on one side the smoky valley of the once-smiling Don, in which lies Sheffield, and on the other the country spreading away into still fertile uplands, until it loses itself in the moors. Excavations have been conducted here by Mr. E. Howarth, curator of the Weston Park Museum, and local honorary secretary, the results of which he described on the spot. The camp lies in an irregular oval, 150 yards long and 120 yards wide, with a hog-back ridge running down the centre, and was defended by a double rampart with a ditch between. The inner rampart consists of rough stones built up to a considerable height, with the larger ones on the outside, and appears to have been faced with clay, to give it a smooth surface difficult of assault; and among the stones were found quantities of charred wood and burnt stones, which seem to denote a lengthened period of construction. Few objects of interest were discovered, but among these were the remains of two Roman cinerary urns, two pieces of unworked jet, and several flint-flakes and other implements. Mr. I. C. Gould, Vice-President, pronounced this camp to date from at least 500 B.C., and to have been utilised by the Romans on their northward march.

At Templeborough, near to Rotherham, are to be seen the remains of the Roman rectangular camp, where was stationed the garrison of this part of the country. It is now converted into a turnip field, but the agger and vallum are plainly discernible; and though the ground is valuable, and the speculative builder has his eye upon it, it is hoped

that the Rotherham Corporation will see to its preservation, as the Sheffield Corporation are doing in the case of Wincobank.

At Laughton-en-le-Morthen is situated one of the best-preserved examples of the court and mound fort; and in these days, when it is more and more confidently stated that none of these are of pre-Norman date, it is the more interesting to have presumptive evidence that this at least may be so. The mound and court here are in close connection with, and slightly to the south-west of, Laughton Church, which in its present fabric bears evidence in its north door and in the chancel walls of its Saxon origin; and there is, moreover, a distinct statement in *Domesday* that "here Count Edwin had his *aula*"—i.e., his hall or fortified residence. The presumption, therefore, is not rash that in this earth-work we may have the remains of the hall of Earl Edwin, who with his brother Morcar rebelled against the Conqueror in 1070, and, as the chronicler succinctly states, consequently "perished."

The churches visited included, besides Laughton, Blyth, Worksop, Chesterfield, Rotherham, Ecclesfield, the exquisite little Steeley Chapel, and the parish church of Sheffield. Of these, Blyth is one of the most interesting. It was founded by Roger de Busli in 1088, and was one of the alien Benedictine priories, paying 40s. yearly to Rouen. In consequence of quarrels with the parishioners, the south aisle was made the parish church, and here, at the east end, is placed the modern chancel. The original choir, as at Worksop, has completely disappeared, but the fine Norman chancel arch remains, and is best seen to-day from the outside, where it faces the garden of the modern mansion. The northern arcade of the nave consists of beautiful Norman piers, with volute capitals of almost Ionic appearance, and arches. There are two good Early screens, with remains of paintings of saints in the panels, some of which have been identified as St. Euphemia, St. Elizabeth of Hungary, and St. Martin, to whom the church is dedicated.

Worksop Church was described by Mr. Charles Lynam, F.S.A. It also was founded by Roger de Busli (who meets us everywhere in this district, and the headquarters of whose lordships were at Tickhill) as a priory of Austin Canons, and flourished till the Dissolution. The nave alone remains of the church, and consists of ten bays, the easternmost one of which Mr. Lynam assigned to 1125, the other nine dating from about 1180. The church was restored in 1847, in accordance with the spirit of the time, but in spite of this the character of the work can be well discerned. The chancel consisted of six bays, and when complete, the church must have been a magnificent building. To the south of the chancel are the ruins of the beautiful Early English

Lady-Chapel, which contained elegant lancet windows in triplets, the one at the east end and two in the south wall remaining. The west end and north wall must have corresponded. There are some remains of the cloister court, and the fourteenth-century gateway of the priory still stands.

Steeley Chapel, visited on the same day, has recently been restored by the present vicar, and "reconciled" to ecclesiastical uses. It is a perfect specimen of a little Late Norman church, with apsidal choir. The work about it is very fine, containing good examples of Norman sculpture in the columns of the south door and in the internal arches, and in the stringcourse running round the external wall of the apse below the windows. As an instance of the often-noted fact that the workers of that age were artists rather than artisans, it may be observed that the foliage of which the stringcourse is composed shows no two leaves exactly alike.

The abbeys visited included Beauchief and Roche. Of Beauchief nothing remains but the lower half of the great western tower, with a little seventeenth-century church tacked on to it: a curious incongruity. It was founded in 1183 for the Premonstratensians, or reformed Austin Canons, by Robert FitzRandolph, who kept watch in Canterbury Cathedral while Thomas à Becket was being murdered, and in this way thought to expiate his crime. Roche Abbey was visited on Friday in most unpropitious circumstances, and was described to a damp but undaunted audience by the Rev. H. J. Dukinfield Astley, Hon. Editorial Secretary, under the shelter of the thirteenth-century gateway, which still remains. Roche was founded for monks of the Cistercian Order in 1147, by Robert de Busli (nephew of Roger) and Richard Fitz Turgis, lords of Maltby and Hooton, whose lands were parted by the stream which flows down the valley in which the abbey stands; and the church, of which the only parts remaining above ground are the eastern walls of the north and south transepts with the chapels on the south, was built in the early years of the thirteenth century, and dedicated in or about 1241. The style is of the purest Early English, and the magnesian limestone of which it is built was well adapted for the purposes of Cistercian architecture, stern and grand in its unadorned simplicity. The site was converted by "Capability" Brown, in the eighteenth century, into a landscape garden, but the accumulation of earth with which he covered it, and which filled the nave to the depth of 6 ft., has now for the most part been cleared away, and it is possible to make out the plan of the church and of the monastic buildings with some degree of certainty.

Wingfield Manor and Barlborough Hall complete the story. The



former, situated not far from Chesterfield, may be considered the finest specimen of a fifteenth-century fortified dwelling in the Perpendicular style remaining in England. Its grandeur is of the past, for, after standing two sieges in the course of the Civil War, it was dismantled by order of the Parliament in 1646. Under the splendid banqueting-hall is a beautiful crypt, with fine groined roofs, the bosses at the intersection being particularly noticeable, composed of four stones, making a circle divided into twelve compartments. Opinions are divided as to the uses of this crypt. It is too elaborate to have been merely a store chamber; some call it the armoury of the establishment, others the retainers' hall, which latter seems the most probable theory. Here Mary Queen of Scots meets us, as she does at the Manor Lodge at Sheffield, where she was confined at different times during the fourteen years from 1570 to 1584. The buildings in which she passed four years of her captivity have vanished completely. Her establishment here consisted of more than three hundred persons; she had four good coach-horses, and her gentlemen, six; and the Queen and her suite drank about ten tuns of wine a year. Two hundred and ten officers and soldiers guarded her person.

Barlborough Hall, on the other hand, is one of the most interesting examples of an Elizabethan mansion built in the latest Renaissance style of the period. It is well described in Mr. Goteh's book on the subject. It was built by Francis Rodes, a Justice of the Common Pleas and Serjeant-at-Law, in 1583-84, and contains some good specimens of sixteenth-century carving and panelling. Seen from the road, the façade of this stately house is specially impressive and striking.

The Papers read at the evening meetings were of the usual character, and dealt more particularly with local antiquities. The President's (Mr. R. E. Leader) Inaugural Address on Monday evening was a masterpiece of condensation on "The Antiquities of Hallamshire;" in which he pointed out that though Sheffield is of comparatively modern growth, the district is full of the liveliest interest for the antiquary and historian. On Friday evening, Mr. I. C. Gould discoursed upon the subject of "Early Defensive Works near Sheffield," and the Rev. H. J. D. Astley, in a Paper dealing with Roche Abbey, enlarged upon the character of Cistercian architecture as exemplifying the principles of the Order. An exception to the general rule as to Papers was that by Mr. W. J. Nichols, on Thursday evening, in which the writer described the remarkable series of discoveries recently made by himself in "The Caves and Dene-holes of Chislehurst," of which the results are laid before the public in this volume of the *Journal*, pp. 147-160.



Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 18TH, 1903.

DR. W. DE GRAY BIRCH, F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

At the Council Meeting in the afternoon, Mr. Patrick announced that the following Members had been duly elected at a Special Council held in September last :—

J. R. Wigfull, Esq., A.R.I.B.A., 14, Parade Chambers, Sheffield.

Wm. Parker, Esq., "The Mount," Sheffield.

John Stokes, Esq., M.D., 82, Eccleshall Road, Sheffield.

John S. Oldfield, Esq., 64, Basinghall Street, E.C.

Herbert Ryan, Esq., Bickley Hotel, Chislehurst.

A. G. Bateman, Esq., M.B., M.S.L.S.A., 7, Queen Anne Street,
Cavendish Square, W.

A. C. Mitchell, Esq., Lubbock Road, Chislehurst.

H. F. Tiarks, Esq., Foxbury, Chislehurst.

Rev. James Dawson, M.A., The Rectory, Chislehurst.

Ernest Myers, Esq., Brackenside, Manor Park, Chislehurst.

Gilbert J. McCaul, Esq., Creggandarrock, Chislehurst.

Thomas C. McIntyre, Esq., Northfield, Elmstead Lane, Bickley.

R. E. Leader, Esq., B.A. (*President*), "Thorndene," Oakleigh
Park, N.

W. C. S. Dearden, Esq., "Carbrook," Sheffield.

John H. Brammall, Esq., Sale Hill House, Sheffield.

W. H. Brittain, Esq., Alderman, Sheffield.

T. Davies Pryce, Esq., 64, Clarendon Street, Nottingham.

Samuel Roberts, Esq., M.P., D.L., Queen's Tower, Sheffield.

Thomas Winder, Esq., Norfolk Estate Office, Sheffield.

J. B. Mitchell Withers, Esq., 73, Surrey Street, Sheffield.

Mrs. Meyrick, Midland Temperance Hotel, Guildford Street,
W.C.

Mrs. Griffenhoofe, 35, Lancaster Road, Swiss Cottage, N.W.

Isidore Kosminski, Esq., 43, Robe Street, St. Kilda, Victoria,
Australia.

Mr. Patrick also announced that he had recently received a letter from Lord Knollys, relative to His Majesty the King's interest in the projected alterations of the house of Shakesperian date known as Birch's Crock Shop, in connection with the Carnegie Free Library at Stratford-on-Avon, to which he had suitably replied; and he reported that after removing the roof and the brick-front of the house, contrary to the advice of our own and other Societies, and exposing the Elizabethan timber to the danger of altogether collapsing, the Library Committee had now found that the house was unsuitable for the purpose of forming part of the Free Library!

Thus the wisdom of those who advocated delay is fully justified.

The following members were duly elected:—

William A. Everington, Esq., "Lealholme," Stanfield Park,
Bromley, Kent.

Henry O'Brien, Esq., "Oakleigh," Summer Hill, Chislehurst.

Henry Francis Slattery, Esq., "Ravenshill," Chislehurst.

Gerald P. Busbridge, Esq., "Wellington," Swanley Junction, Kent.

Geo. Wickham, Esq., Limpsfield, Surrey.

A. O. Newman, Esq., 23, Truro Road, Wood Green.

Ernest G. Percy, Esq., 26, Great Tower Street, E.C.

Colin C. Reader, Esq., 27, Waldeck Road, Ealing, W.

Mrs. Walter Bentley, 7B, Oxford and Cambridge Mansions, N.W.

G. R. Bonnard, Esq., 80, Coleman Street, E.C.

Thos. Hennell, Esq., 6, Delahay Street, Westminster, S.W.

Geo. W. Miller, Esq., "Whitehouse," The Common, Chislehurst.

James Henry Porter, Esq., "Ealdham," 103, High Road, Lee, S.E.

Robt. P. Tebb, Esq., "Enderfield," Lubbock Road, Chislehurst.

Alexander Adamson, Esq., "St. Andrew's," Chislehurst.

Nowell S. Stott, Esq., "Fairview," South Hill Road, Chislehurst.

Geo. O. Homfeld Klopp, Esq., "Glenthorne," 18, Lower Camden,
Chislehurst.

W. Willett, Esq., "The Cedars," Chislehurst.

William S. Porter, Esq., "Phœbe Croft," Hope, Sheffield.

Harry Snow, Esq., 4, Greek Street, Sheffield.

E. M. Gibb, Esq., St. James's Row, Sheffield.

J. G. N. Clift, Esq., "Lansdowne," Thurleigh Road, Wandsworth
Common, S.W.

It may be noted that of the forty-five new members elected since the Congress, the Association owes no fewer than twenty-nine to the energy and zeal of Mr. W. J. Nichols, V.-P.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the donors of the following presents for the Library:—

- To the* Sussex Archaeological Society, for "Collections," vols. xlv, xlvi.
 „ Brussels Archaeological Society, for "Reports," etc., Parts 1-4, 1903.
 „ Royal Archaeological Institute, for "The Archaeological Journal," vol. lx, Parts 1 and 2, 1903.
 „ Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, for "Journal," vol. xxxiii, Parts 2 and 3, 1903.
 „ Wiltshire Archaeological Society, for "Magazine," December 1902 and June, 1903.
 „ Cambrian Archaeological Association for "Archæologia Cambrensis," Sixth Series, vol. iii, Parts 2 and 3, 1903.
 „ Derbyshire Archaeological Society for "Journal," vol. xxv, 1903.
 „ Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society, for "Journal," vol. xxv, Part 2, 1903.
 „ East Herts Archaeological Society, for "Transactions," vol. ii, Part 1, 1903.
 „ Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, for "Proceedings," 1900, 1901.
 „ Royal Institute of British Architects, for "Kalendar," 1903-4, and for "Journal," Parts 3 and 4, 1903.
 „ Portuguese Archaeological Society, for "Portugalia," Tomo i, Fasc. 4, 1903.
 „ Smithsonian Institution, for "Natick Dictionary," by J. H. Turnbull, 1903; "Continuation of Experiments with Ionised Air," 1903; "List of Publications," 1903; "Report of Astrophysical Observatory, vol. i, 1900; "International Exchange Service," 1902.

Mr. C. H. Compton, V.-P., read the following interesting extracts from the parish registers of Chesham Church, Bucks.

CHESHAM CHURCH.

Registers.

Burials, 1678, 16th August, and certificate brought to me 24th August.

„ 1679, 22nd April, burial Priscilla Harding, and affidavit brought to me April 22nd.

Births, first 1645, September.

Baptism, 22nd July, 1668.

There are earlier Registers, which are kept at the Vicarage, but I could not see them in the absence of the Vicar.

The parish church is of the fourteenth-century, well restored by the late Sir Gilbert Scott.

There is a small alto-relievo monument in Parian marble to the memory of Nicholas Skottowe, Esq., by John Bacon. It shows a weeping female figure bending over a tomb. It is beautifully executed.

Bacon was born in 1740, and died 7th August, 1799.

On the wall of the south aisle is an old fresco of St. Christopher, preserved in the restoration.

Mr. Compton also exhibited some good photographs of the fine roof of the nave of South Creak Church, Norfolk, and drew attention to some of the archæological discoveries of the recess.

1. Roman villa at Fifehead-Neville, Dorset.

Antiquarian discoveries of much interest have lately been made at Fifehead-Neville, Dorset, where, with the permission of Mr. Wingfield-Digby, M.P., excavations have been made on the site of a large Roman villa. Several large and beautiful tessellated floors have been unearthed, together with the stone foundations of the villa walls. One of the floors shows the hypocaust and flues by which the living room was warmed. The tesserae of the floors are extremely small, and the designs are very artistic. The excavations have been most carefully made.

Mr. Wingfield-Digby, M.P., has decided that the splendid remains of the Roman villa found on his property at Fifehead-Neville, Dorset, shall be covered in, to secure their preservation and prevent injury. It has, however been resolved that a permanent record shall be taken of the discovery, in the shape of plans and drawings; and this work has been undertaken by the Dorset Field Club, the president of which is Lord Eustace Cecil. When completed, they will be placed in the Dorset County Museum at Dorchester. The Rev. C. Engleheart, who superintended the excavation, the whole cost of which was borne by Mr. Digby, regards the remains as among the most important of their kind yet found in England.

2. Cinerary urn at Braintree, Essex.

An interesting discovery was, on Saturday, September 5th, made at Braintree by some workmen engaged in excavating a field for building purposes. The pickaxe of one of them came in contact with a hard substance, which proved to be a very ancient cinerary urn of remarkable shape and pattern. On being carefully removed and examined, it was found to contain many fragments of human bones. The blow

of the pickaxe had broken it, but every piece has been carefully preserved. Proceeding to remove the earth with great care, the workmen found in close proximity to the first urn another of a distinctly different shape. This was removed in perfect condition, and found to be more elaborately ornamented than the first. In the absence of expert opinion, it is not yet known to what period the urns belong. They are now in the possession of Mr. Silas Parmenter, builder. It is probable that more discoveries of a like nature will be made in the vicinity, which is close to the site of a lake-dwelling, which was found during excavations for brick-earth a few years ago.

3. Roman Wall of London.

The members of the City Lands Committee of the Corporation, under the presidency of Mr. W. R. Horncastle, the Chief Commoner, paid a visit on October 1st to the site of the new Sessions House, Old Bailey, for the purpose of inspecting a large piece of the old Roman Wall which formerly encircled the City. A similar discovery was made several months ago, and, in order that its position may be known to future generations, a portion of the ancient fabric has been preserved beneath a memorial archway. The piece in question is in a state of good preservation, but it must be broken up, as it runs through the centre of the site. The course of the Roman Wall is believed to run under the site of Christ's Hospital to Aldersgate, and thence to Cripplegate, where a portion of the bastion of the gate remains. Another interesting discovery in the Old Bailey is the bastion which supported the original New-gate. This is of very massive construction. I inspected the Roman wall, 7th October, 1903. It runs north and south, at right angles to Ludgate Hill on south, and Newgate Street on north.

It is hoped that a full account of the villa at Fifehead-Neville will shortly be laid before the Association.

The Rev. H. J. D. Astley described for Mr. W. J. Nichols, V.-P., who was unable to be present, the following interesting exhibition of recent "finds" in the Caves and Dene-holes of Chislehurst:—

One Palæolithic Celt (flint), 4 in. by $2\frac{3}{4}$ in., found just outside the caves, but in the camp.

One pounder $2\frac{1}{2}$ in., flint, for pounding grain and roots; found in dene-hole. There is one in the Guildhall Museum, Prehistoric Catalogue, p. 15, No. 164. They are very rare.

Seven or eight fragments of Roman pottery, black and red, one piece Samian; found in dene-hole.

Eight gun and pistol-flints, found in the chamber where fashioned,

in the caves : closed about 1800. Numerous bones of animals have been found, some of which will be exhibited later.

Mr. Astley commented on the discoveries made by M. Homolle and the French explorers, during 1902, at Delphi, on the site of the Temple of Apollo, which, in their opinion, prove the Ionic character of the building ; and on the recent discoveries of Messrs. Hunt and Grenfell in the Fayum, which included some more papyrus fragments of hitherto unknown "Logia" of our Lord. He also exhibited a series of nearly one hundred photogravure reproductions (two reproduced in the original colours) of portraits discovered some years ago by Herr Theodor Graf, of Vienna, in graves of the Ptolemaic period in the Fayum. Some of these Herr Graf believes he has been able to identify with their originals by the aid of coins, medals, and busts.

Dr. Birch expressed some doubts as to the identification ; but, apart from this, the series is one of very considerable interest, from the life-like character of the portraits, one or two of the younger women being especially beautiful and almost modern-looking ; and Herr Graf should meet with a warm welcome if, as he proposes, he ever brings the original portraits to London.

Mr. Patrick read, on behalf of Mr. J. W. MacMichael, a Paper dealing with "The Colour of the Sky in the Symbolism of Ancient Art and Folk-lore," a very interesting subject, treated at considerable length with many references.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 16TH, 1903.

DR. W. DE GRAY BIRCH, F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

The following Members were duly elected :—

Horace Ockerby, Esq., 114, Queen Victoria Street, E.C.

Bert. Ryan, Esq., Bickley Hotel, Chislehurst, Kent.

Paul E. Schroeder, Esq., 4, Egerton Gardens, S.W.

Rev. G. N. Godwin, The Lodge, Weasenham, Swaffham, Norfolk.

T. E. Forster, Esq., 3, Eldon Square, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the donors of the following presents for the Library :—

To the Royal Dublin Society, for "Scientific Proceedings," October, November, December, 1903, and for "Economics Proceedings," October, 1903.

„ Smithsonian Institution, for "Annual Report," 1902.

Mr. C. H. Compton, V.-P., read a Paper on "Treasure-trove, as affected by the recent Decision of Mr. Justice Farwell in the Case of the Attorney-General v. the British Museum."

An interesting discussion followed the Paper, which will be published when circumstances permit.



Antiquarian Intelligence.

Life and Times of Alfred the Great. By CHARLES PLUMMER, M.A. (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 5s. net).—This volume formed the subject of the Ford Lectures for 1901, and was one of those called forth by the enthusiasm stirred by the celebration of the millenary of the great hero and monarch of the Anglo-Saxon realm in that year. It is undoubtedly the best of them all; and to anyone who wishes to have a clear and readable account of what Alfred was, and what he did, and of all that he meant for England, we recommend a study of this book.

The author commences by first appraising at their right value the "sources" for the history of Alfred's life and time—the *Life* by Asser; the notices in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, and those which are to be found in Simeon of Durham and the later chroniclers. He naturally gives no credence to the story of Alfred's connection with St. Neot, nor to that of the "cakes" at Athelney, nor to the many other apocryphal legends which have grown up around the figure of the king; and, as regards the withdrawal of Alfred to Athelney, he shows how it was in reality part of a careful plan for the destruction of the Danish marauders, and not due to any fear or cowardice on Alfred's part: for "Alfred's cause was not hopeless as long as Alfred was alive."

After his campaigns against the Danes were over, Alfred showed himself no less great as a civil administrator than he had been as a warrior; and the account of his literary labours, and of his efforts to improve the education of his people, forms not the least interesting portion of this scholarly book.

All will agree with Mr. Plummer's conclusion that "Alfred is one of the very few rulers whose work in life and whose memory after death have been, as far as may be said of anything here below, an unmixed blessing to their peoples."

The Literature of the Celts. By MAGNUS MACLEAN, M.A., D.Sc. (London: Blackie and Son, 1902, 7s. 6d. net).—In this book Dr.

MacLean essays to write the history of the literature of the Celtic peoples, from pagan times down to the present day, and he pursues his theme with all the native fire and fervour of the true Gael.

Less than a century and a-half ago, Dr. Johnson asserted that "there was not in all the world a Gaelic manuscript more than a hundred years old;" but one of the best results of the so-called "Celtic revival" of recent years has been to make it plain that the great Doctor was very much mistaken, and to prove that Gaelic was a literary language long before English literature was dreamt of. The tale of the *written* literature of the Celts commences with St. Patrick, whom the author holds to have been a very real and a very important personage: and rightly, we think, notwithstanding the doubts on this point expressed by Mr. Plummer in his edition of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*: but Celtic literature, orally transmitted, goes back into those pre-Christian ages whence have come down to us the cycles of stories which the author describes in glowing terms under the names of the "mythological" and the "heroic" cycles. In them the true genius of the Celtic race expressed itself; the fire of it glows in the pages of Macpherson's *Ossian*, and, though that belongs to the "Arthurian" cycle, its gleam may be caught in Lady Charlotte Guest's *Mabinogion*.

As a matter of fact, although it was through contact with Christianity that the first written literature of the Gaels and other Celtic peoples took shape, yet, as the author points out, the influence of the Church in Celtic literature was the reverse of beneficial, for it tended to suppress the native fire and poetry of the race; and, indeed, nothing more depressing than the vernacular literature provided for the Gaelic-speaking people of the highlands can be conceived. To this may perhaps be due the dolefulness of spirit and expression of which the "Celtic Renaissance" has made too much, and not to any quality really inherent in the race.

We cordially agree with the opinion expressed by a reviewer who says: "The *Literature of the Celts*, written on popular lines, is the best essay we have had as yet at an exposition of what is understood by Celtic literature, its history, its achievements, and its influences, which latter are not dead, but certain to be manifest in the achievements of all literary Europe for many generations to come." We had also noted for correction a point to which the same reviewer calls attention, and cannot do better than quote his words, in the hope that the author may be induced to make it in the second edition, which is sure to be called for. "In his chapter summing up the political history of the Celts, Dr. Maclean quotes the hackneyed phrase of Ossian:

'They went forth to the war, but they always fell;' and obviously accepts without question the assumption of innumerable previous commentators that this pathetic phrase refers to the Celts. It does nothing of the kind, and it is unfortunate that every commentator—even the most patriotic Celtic commentator—appears determined to perpetuate this wholly erroneous reading of Ossian. 'They went forth to the war, but they always fell,' is the motto at the head of Arnold's *Celtic Literature*: he, apparently, meant it to indicate in one unforgettable phrase the history of the Celt; and in that sense it is almost as popular a term now as 'The Celtic Fringe.' A reference to the second Duan of 'Cath Loda,' in which the words occur, will show that Ossian (or Macpherson) applied them, not to the Celts, but to the Scandinavians."

The lists of existing Gaelic MSS. are full and complete; the critiques upon the stories are judicious, and the quotations from them are well chosen. Macpherson stands out not only as the inimitable adaptor of really ancient material, but as himself also a true poet, head and shoulders above the throng of his would-be followers in the same line.

There are good indices, and the title-page is adorned with characteristic Celtic ornament.

Suffolk in the Seventeenth Century, with Notes by LORD FRANCIS HERVEY (London: John Murray, 1902. 10s. 6d. net).—In introducing this quaint seventeenth-century production to the public, Lord Francis Hervey describes it as the work of a worthy inhabitant of Suffolk, Robert Reyce or Ryece, who was a native of Preston, near Lavenham, his father being a Justice of the Peace for the county. The MS. from which the present transcript is for the first time taken is numbered 3873 in the Harleian Collection in the British Museum, and is entitled the *Breviary of Suffolke*. It is dedicated by the author to Sir Robert Crane, of Chilton, and is dated in the year 1618.

The author commences in the orthodox manner by describing the geographical position of Suffolk: its rivers, the commodities and dis-commodities of the "soyle" and "scite," its "aire," its natural history and products; and then proceeds to give an account of its inhabitants, its godly ministry, "its poore, its husbandmen, yeomen, townesmen and gentlemen, knights and nobility." He then sketches its divisions, its government, civil, military, and ecclesiastical, its lords of manors, and its "martiall" men. There follows on this a long and interesting list of monuments, in churches and elsewhere, its religious houses and its learned men; and he concludes with a detailed list of

the armigerous families and many genealogies. Taking it as a whole, the excellent Mr. Robt. Reyce has given a curious and faithful picture of the condition of the county in his days, and Lord Francis Hervey has done well to have it transcribed and published. The style may be judged from the following extract from the description of "The Aire :—" "To come now to the temperature of this county, which tho' it is nott in all places alike, yett it is commonly esteemed that the aire is as sweet and healthfull generally as in any other county whatsoever, butt that part which extendeth itself towards the Champaine is observed to bee the purest, as well purged and refined with the northern blasts, where the air being somewhat piercing is deemed very apt and fitt for recovery of health in decayed bodies And albeit the sea with the marshes and fenns doe vent in summer poysened aire, vapours and fogges, and in winter cold exhalations and mists, then the which nothing is more enemie to the health of man and beast, yett all these are corrected and refined by the east winds ; which being the healthfullest quarter, and coming from the sea so purgeth the aire, that by reason thereof it is made pure, subtle and very healthfull." This encomium on the east wind would have rejoiced the heart of Charles Kingsley !

The book is tastefully got up ; the editor has enriched it with copious notes and a good index ; and we trust it will meet with many readers, not only in the county to which it refers, but in that wider circle which, as Lord Rosebery has said, loves to know what their native country was like, and how their ancestors lived, in bygone times.

The Roll-Call of Westminster Abbey. By MRS. A. MURRAY SMITH (E. T. Bradley). (London : Smith, Elder and Co., 6s.)—This is a popular account of the monuments in Westminster Abbey, by one who has lived for many years beneath their shadow, and who loves every stone of the historic pile, and every memorial to the past to be found therein ; but, though popular, it is not a mere guide-book, and is of real antiquarian value. Mrs. Murray Smith is a daughter of the late Dean Bradley, and, as such, she had facilities denied to the general public, and has used them to the full, for she knows and loves the Abbey by night as well as by day. And what a wonderful story it is she has to tell—the history of England in miniature for a thousand years ! Her "vision of the mighty dead" in the opening chapter puts the reader at once *en rapport* with the scene which it is her business to present in the succeeding pages. "In a vast multitude they came"—the hour is midnight—"the spirits of the dead, fashioned as if they were still alive, thronging from the nearer chapels, from the distant

nave and transepts, even from the cloisters, towards the central and most sacred portion of the Church, where lies that sainted—though hardly saintly—king, Edward the Confessor. Kings and queens, princes and princesses, noble men and noble women, were hastening once again to do homage at the shrine.” So the long roll-call proceeds—from the members of the royal houses, from the Plantagenets to the Stuarts, to poets and men of letters, actors and actresses, learned men of divinity, medicine, and science, musicians, politicians, philanthropists and lawyers, all are there—admirably arranged and described with skill, feeling, and method. One of the most pathetic chapters is that which describes the “children of the Abbey;” among whom perhaps the most touching figure is that of Mary, the infant daughter of James I, who, dying at three days old, is called in her epitaph “a royal rosebud plucked by premature fate, and snatched away from her parents . . . that she might flourish again in the rosary of Christ.”

There are twenty-five full-page illustrations from photographs, including some of the wax effigies for which the Abbey is famous, and five excellent plans, besides a full index which increases the usefulness of the book as, what it must more especially be, a work of reference, and in that respect quite one of the best that has been produced on its subject.

Jeanne d'Arc, Maid of Orleans, 1429-1431: being the Story of her Life, her Achievements, and her Death, as attested on Oath, and set forth in the Original Documents. Edited by T. DOUGLAS MURRAY (London: Heinemann, 1902).—By the order of Pope Calixtus, in 1455, the trial of Jeanne d'Arc at Rouen, which had taken place twenty-four years before, was reconsidered by a great court of lawyers and churchmen, and the condemnation of Jeanne was solemnly annulled and declared wicked and unjust. It is the story of this trial, as it has been handed down in the original documents, from the mouths of the simple village folk of Domremy and from others who knew her during the stirring three years of her deliverance of France, which this book unfolds as a sequel to the transcription of the original documents containing the reports of the actual trials which Jeanne underwent before her martyrdom. “By the re-trial, posterity has been allowed to see the whole life of the village maiden of Domrémy, as she was known first to her kinsfolk and her neighbours, and afterwards to warriors, nobles, and churchmen, who followed her extraordinary career. The evidence so given is unique in its minute and faithful narration of a great and noble life, as indeed that life itself is unique in all human history. After all that can be done by the rationalising pro-

cess, the mystery remains of an untutored and unlettered girl, of eighteen years old, not only imposing her will upon captains and courtiers, but showing a skill and judgment worthy, as General Dragomiroff says, of the greatest commanders, indeed, of Napoleon himself. While we must give due weight and consideration to the age in which this marvel showed itself on the stage of history, an age of portents and prophecy, of thaumaturgists and saints, yet, when all allowance is made, there remains this sane, strong girl leaving her humble home, and in two short months accomplishing more than Cæsar or Alexander accomplished in so much time, and at an age when even Alexander had as yet achieved nothing." With these extracts from the editor's "Introduction," with which we heartily agree, we must refer the reader to the book itself for the development of the marvellous tale; at the same time expressing our sense of the debt of gratitude which all lovers of the truth owe to him for his painstaking and careful translation of the original documents. The trial of Jeanne is, as he says, "one of the most enthralling dramas in all history. The caution, the skill, the simplicity withal, shown by Jeanne in her answers to bewildering and entrapping questions well earned the praise bestowed, twenty years later, by the accomplished lawyers who sustained the appeal for a new hearing": too late for Jeanne herself, but not too late for the transmission of her fame unsullied to posterity. The proceedings for her rehabilitation commenced in 1450, and were continued for three years, but ended then without formal issue. "It is fortunate," says Mr. Douglas Murray, "for truth and human interest that these inquiries were abortive, for, if it had not been so, we should never have had that delightful picture of Domrémy given by the simple people of the place; nor should we have had, as now, a sworn narrative of Jeanne's private and public life, laying bare her very soul. . . The decree of Pope Calixtus has added a true romance to human story. In all that we know of the world's great ones we can find no parallel for the Maid of Domrémy. Perhaps only in Catholic France was such a heroine possible. Certainly, Teutonic Protestantism has as yet given to the world none of the exalted types of holy women such as those that illuminate Latin Christianity."

So writes Mr. Douglas Murray, and we have thought it well to let him introduce his heroine to our readers in his own words. After reading the evidence for themselves, we think there are few who will be inclined to disagree with him. Certainly, no lover of truth—and all such must of necessity be lovers of Jeanne d'Arc—will do so.

The official Latin text of the trial and rehabilitation, rescued from oblivion among the archives of France, and published in the 'forties by

Quicherat, has been in this book faithfully, and now for the first time, rendered into English, and we cordially recommend its perusal to the general reader, no less than to the student. These last will find many quaint and curious bits of historical and archaeological information: what, for example, can be more delightful than the folk-lore connected with the Fairies' Tree and the Well of the Thorn at Domrémy, pointing back so unmistakably to the primitive cult of sacred trees and springs? But for all these points of interest we must refer to the book itself.

Two good portraits of Jeanne are given, and there are over twenty fine collotype plates of places connected with her short but heroic history, besides an excellent Map. The Index is as full and complete as can be desired.

John Lackland. By KATE NORGATE. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1902. 8s. 6d. net). — The authoress of this book is already well known as a diligent student of English history, more particularly of the Angevin period: she belongs, moreover, as is also well known, to the school of the late J. R. Green, whom she reverences as her master. In co-operation with Mrs. Green, she helped to bring out the sumptuous illustrated edition of *The Short History of the English People*, and in her own *England under the Angevin Kings*, the spirit of the master breathes throughout, and would be immediately detected even if it were not so touchingly admitted in her Preface. Now Mr. Green, notwithstanding his brilliance and his general accuracy, was not always just or correct in his judgments, and never did he make a greater error than when he said of John that "he was the ablest as well as the most ruthless of the Plantagenets." The latter portion of the characterisation is, unfortunately for him, true enough; the former is almost ludicrously untrue, and Bishop Stubbs was undoubtedly justified in the scorn which he felt and expressed for the saying.

By putting the sentence as a whole in the forefront of her latest work, Miss Norgate, however, intends the reader to understand her agreement with it, and *John Lackland* must, therefore, be taken as a commentary on this text. It is a life of King John, far more than a history of his time. Does Miss Norgate's commentary justify the text? We think not. The ruthlessness is indeed there; its lurid glow is over almost every page: in the burning of Tours and Nantes and Angers; in the murder, direct or indirect, of Arthur; in the fire and sword which he carried through Normandy, and afterwards, in his last days, through England; in the slow starvation of Maud de Braose and her son in the dungeon at Windsor; in all this, and in a thousand instances besides, it is patent; but where is the ability? Any tyrant

can be ruthless, but many tyrants have been able men. John was not, in very truth, one of these. His Irish campaign in 1210 was his one great success, and in his dealings with the Pope, and Pandulph, and the Barons, he displayed much cunning craftiness, and seemed for a time to gain his ends; but there was more of duplicity and chicanery than of ability. Would his father, or his brother, the valiant Cœur-de-Lion, have lost Normandy as John did, even had they found themselves in his situation? Would a really able man, to say nothing of "the ablest of the Plantagenets," have turned tail and retreated as he did in his projected Welsh campaign of 1212, even though his Barons were preparing to act on the Papal sentence which absolved them from their allegiance, and there was treachery in his own camp? Would a really able man have behaved as John did during his last campaign in Normandy, wasting precious time in endless futile marches hither and thither; or as he did in his last march through England, which ended so disastrously in the loss of his army and his treasure in the Wash; and in his own death, not from grief or despair, but from over-indulgence in the pleasures of the table? Again, could it ever have been said of any really able man, that though "not devoid of personal valour or of skill in arms"—which he would not have been a descendant of Fulk the Black had he not possessed—"his rashness and irresolution constantly brought him into situations in which he must either fight or fly, and he chose the latter. R. Coggeshall describes him on Lewis's landing in 1216: '*perterritus fugit flens et lamentans, et omnis exercitus ejus cum eo*'; yet he had been waiting to intercept Lewis, and had a superior force?" Miss Norgate has laboured strenuously to justify her "master's" saying, yet the impartial reader cannot rise from a perusal of her book without a conviction that the verdict of history is with Bishop Stubbs, and not with her. The great Bishop's opinion of John is such a magnificent piece of historical judgment that we must quote it in part: "What marks out John personally from the long list of our sovereigns, good and bad, is this: that there is nothing in him which for a single moment calls out our better sentiments; in his prosperity there is nothing that we can admire, and in his adversity nothing that we can pity. Many—most, perhaps—of our Kings have had both sins and sorrows: sins for which they might allege temptations, and sorrows which are not less meet for sympathy because they were well deserved. But for John no temptations are allowed to be pleaded in extenuation of guilt; and there is not one moment, not one of the many crises of his reign, in which we feel the slightest movement towards sympathy. Edward III may have been as unprincipled but he is a more graceful sinner; William Rufus

as savage, but he is a more magnificent and stronger-willed villain; Ethelred the Unready as weak, false, and worthless; but he sins for, and suffers with, his people. John has neither grace nor splendour, strength nor patriotism. His history stamps him as a worse man than many who have done much more harm, and that—for his reign was not a period of unparalleled or unmitigated misery for his subjects—chiefly on account of his own personal share in the producing of his own deep and desperate humiliation' (*Hist. Int. to the Rolls Ser.*, p. 439).

Miss Norgate's book is not, however, vitiated by the radical defect of her point of view. She displays all the graphic power of description, all the terse vigour of style, all the capacity for drawing a picture which shall live as a mental vision in the reader's mind, which are to be found in her *England under the Angevin Kings*, and her life of *John Lackland* is a work which must be taken account of by every future historian of the period. She gives copious references to all the original authorities, and succeeds in clothing the dry bones of the monastic chroniclers with living flesh and blood, and nerve and muscle and tissue. She pursues her way with an unerring instinct through all the tangled mazes of John's stormy career; and in many passages,—as in the account of his last campaign in Normandy; of his negotiations with the Barons which culminated in Runnymede and Magna Charta; and of his last wild march through England, when "fields all white to the harvest were given to the flames, and the houses and farm-buildings sacked and destroyed, by the terrible host with the King at its head"—she rises to the heights of a subdued but none the less real eloquence. There are four good maps illustrative of the conquest of Ireland, one of England in 1190, and a full index.

Staple Inn and Its Story. By T. CATO WORSFOLD, F.R.Hist.S., etc. (London: Bemrose and Sons, 1903.) The substance of this book formed the subject of a Paper read by Mr. Worsfold on the occasion of the visit paid to Staple Inn by the members of this Association, during the Congress at Westminster in 1902. The author gives in these pages a most interesting and graphic account of what old Sir George Bere in 1615 called "the fayrest Inne of Chancerie." Commencing with a description of Holborn—which name he rightly derives from the "bourne," or stream, in the "hole" or valley, and not from "Old Bourne" (Stowe)—and its neighbourhood from Roman times onwards, he arrives at Staple Inn itself and the origin of its name which baffled Stowe. With Sir George Bere he derives it from its primary connections with the wool-staplers, the chief trading organisation of England from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries. In 1169

arose the great league of merchants known as the "Hanseatic League," and in 1248 this league obtained concessions from King Henry III, allowing them to settle in London. They were known as the "Merchants of the Stilliard or Steelyard," "so-called," says Mr. Worsfold, "from their trading almost entirely by weight, and using the steel yard as their apparatus." On this subject we would refer him to a very fruitful discussion as to the derivation of "stilliard" or "steelyard," in *Notes and Queries*, 9th Series, xi (January to June, 1903), in which the last word certainly lay with Professor Skeat, who said: "The word steelyard, or, more correctly, 'stilliard,' has nothing to do with either 'steel' or 'yard'; but is derived from the Latin *Hasta* (a spear being in old times set up to mark a place of auction) through *Hastile*, and with the well-known intensive suffix 'art' or 'ard' appended" (see N. E. D. under 'ard' suff.). Thus it simply means a measuring or weighing rod, and the first "stilliards" were of wood, like their prototype the spear.

But this is a digression. With the "Merchants of the Stilliard" there came very soon into association the "Merchants of the Staple," first established (in 1248) in the city of Westminster, which was specifically removed in 1375 to "a place called Staple Inn in Holborn," but in 1378, only three years later, they went back to Westminster, and Staple Inn became an Inn of Chancery. How it passed to the lawyers, and the vicissitudes of its history during their long occupation, down to 1884, when it passed into the hands of the Prudential Life Office—the fine old Hall being now held by the Institute of Actuaries—must be read in Mr. Worsfold's fascinating story, as must also the account of its "worthies," including Dr. Johnson, Isaac Reed, the great Bibliophile, Charles Dickens, who painted its portrait lovingly in "Edwin Drood," to say nothing of a host of other and earlier celebrities famous in the Law. It is a bit of Old London that one sees as one gazes at its ancient façade fronting busy Holborn, and that one enters on emerging from the roar of that modern pandemonium into its quiet courtyard. The Hall is notable for its beautiful timber roof, constructed of oak, and, as described by Samuel Ireland in 1800, "is supported by five principal beams framed with Gothic ribs of oak, and enriched with grotesque ornament, and the end of the posts are all carved and moulded with drops in the same style." On the lower short beams of the spandrils of the roof are placed upright ornaments of a grotesque zigzag character, which resemble New Zealand totem-posts, and may actually have come from that country, but when or how is unknown. The windows contain stained glass, the earliest dating from 1500. Amongst the upper panels of the oriel

window next the dais is to be seen "the woolpack argent on a field vert," below which is written "Insignia Staple Inn." The probable date of erection of the Hall is 1581, and all antiquaries will rejoice with Mr. Worsfold that it is now carefully preserved.

We heartily congratulate the author on the accomplishment of what has evidently been to him a labour of love, and both he and the publishers are to be commended for the effective get-up of the book. The margins are spacious, the illustrations numerous and to the point, and the index all that could be desired. A few errors, due, no doubt, to careless proof-reading, should be corrected, *e.g.*, "pillioried" for "pilloried" (p. 15), "nobliores" for "nobiliores" (p. 34), and "Fortesque" for "Fortescue" (p. 40). On p. 28 the word "entirely" occurs twice in one line; and so good a writer as Mr. Worsfold should not allow himself the use of the split infinitive as in "to keenly appreciate" (p. 71).

Memorials of Old Northamptonshire. Edited by ALICE DRYDEN. (London: Bemrose and Sons. 15s. net).—This book is made up of a series of Papers on the antiquities of Northamptonshire by various writers, of whom the most important is the late Sir Henry Dryden, the father of the Editor. His Papers comprise an account of "the Castle of Tichmarsh," of which very little remains above ground; "the Northamptonshire Militia in the reign of Henry VIII and Queen Elizabeth;" and "Hospital dedicated to St. John the Baptist at Northampton." Miss Dryden writes sympathetically of "Northamptonshire Villages;" "The Homes of George Washington's Ancestors;" "The Royal Forests;" "Queen Eleanor's Crosses;" "Woodcroft and Northborough;" and "Sir Christopher Hatton and his Homes," viz., Holdenby and Kirby, the latter "plunged into ruins only a few years ago," being, "from its size, its completeness, and its variety of detail, one of the finest monuments left to us of the Renaissance." The other contributors include Lady Knightley, who naturally writes on "Fawsley;" and Albert Hartshorne, who, as naturally, writes on "The Monumental Effigies." The book forms, as a whole, a good introduction to the archaeology of one of the most interesting counties of England, and one perhaps not quite so "undiscovered" as the Editor imagines, and is well adapted to the purpose, which from various indications we fancy must have been before the minds of its writers, of initiating our American cousins into the mysteries of an antiquity which they reverence the more because they possess it not themselves. Otherwise, with the exception of the Papers by Sir Henry Dryden mentioned above, this compilation has little of originality or

of permanent value. The publishers must be praised for the good printing and handsome binding—only we could wish this were not in white, which so soon soils on the shelf—and there are numerous illustrations.

From Mr. B. T. Batsford we have received *A History of Architecture*, by Prof. BANISTER FLETCHER and BANISTER F. FLETCHER (21s. net), a complete compendium of architectural science from the earliest times down to the present day. The book is divided into two parts, containing, respectively, the history of the historic and non-historic styles. Under the former come all the European styles; under the latter the Saracen, Moorish, Indian, Chinese, etc. In describing the historic styles, the authors give under each a full account of its origin and progress, and the differences of development due to geographical position, national idiosyncracies, and all other circumstances tending to modification and growth. There is a magnificent series of Plates illustrating the text, which is necessarily short and to the point, a good glossary of architectural terms, and a full index. In issuing this new edition, considerably enlarged and improved, to the public, the publishers have rendered a service not only to all students of architecture, but to every intelligent man and woman who wishes to have a clear idea of the progress of the art and science of building in all ages.

From the same enterprising firm we have also received *Old English Doorways*, from Tudor times to the end of the eighteenth century, by W. GALSWORTHY DAVIE and H. TANNER (15s. net). In this book, Mr. Tanner is responsible for the text and thirty-four drawings and sketches, while to Mr. Davie is due the beautiful series of seventy collotype plates from photographs taken by him. As Mr. Tanner says: "Wherever the building, be it great or small, it must surely yield one example of a doorway. . . . The door must always be the most important feature of a house;" and in choosing the period from the Renaissance to the close of the eighteenth century, the authors have certainly selected one that yields some of the finest examples to be found in England, if one omits the noble Gothic doorways of earlier times. As one looks through the text, or studies the Plates, one realises, as never before, the infinite variety of which the Tudor, Stuart, and revived classic doorway is capable, and no better models for the modern architect can be imagined than are contained in these pages. Among the most beautiful are the shell-doorways, such as those at Ledbury, and Bristol, and High Wycombe; with which may be compared and contrasted that at Burford, Oxon., the former being executed in wood—the correct material—the latter in stone, which is not suit-

able for the purpose. This is a book for the student and for the drawing-room, and for both objects we heartily recommend it.

Andrea Palladio, his Life and Times. By BANISTER F. FLETCHER. (London: George Bell and Sons. 21s. net).—In this work Mr. Fletcher, whose name has already been favourably mentioned in connection with the *History of Architecture*, noticed above, has provided a sympathetic and satisfactory monument to the memory of the great master, who has hitherto been principally known and honoured in England through the buildings erected in his style by his pupils in this country during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Andrea Palladio was born of humble parentage in the year 1518, as is usually supposed, and died about 1578, having accomplished during his life what is nothing short of a revolution in architecture. He began his career as a sculptor, at Vicenza, but soon deserted sculpture for architecture, and devoted himself to the study of the best classical models. Having saturated himself with their spirit, he devoted himself to reintroduce the Classic Style, with modifications derived from Gothic and Byzantine art, into Italy, and through Italy to Europe, and thus became the father of the Renaissance style. His works include public buildings, bridges, town and country houses, and churches: the building which must rank as his masterpiece being the splendid Basilica at Vicenza, the peculiar charm of which is also “largely enhanced by the beautiful weathering of the stone.” He was not only great as an architect himself, but great as a teacher of others through his writings, the principal of which, his *Treatise on Architecture*, in four books, has been published in countless editions, and translated into every European language. His “school” includes the greatest names in English architecture from 1600 to 1800, commencing with Inigo Jones, and passing through John Webb and Sir Christopher Wren to Hawksmoor, Campbell, Sir John Vanbrugh, Kent, Adam and Chambers. We think with our author that those who study this book, “will see in the best of modern English architecture a good deal of the influence of Palladio, in which simplicity and stateliness, and a striving after repose are the chief qualities;” and we cordially acknowledge our debt of gratitude to him for this worthy presentment of a great theme. The book is handsomely bound and printed, and adorned with a series of excellent views and architectural details of the master’s principal works; there is a good bibliography, but no index.

We have received from Mr. Elliot Stock *The Smith Family*, by COMPTON READE (12s. net), an excellent popular history of most branches of the name, however spelt, from the fourteenth century downwards,

with many pedigrees now printed for the first time ; and some account of the numerous celebrities who have borne the name under its various renderings. It is a book which will no doubt appeal more forcibly to members of the ubiquitous Smith clan than to others ; and these will be interested to learn that to spell the name *Smyth* or *Smythe* is no more aristocratic than simple *Smith*. There are one or two notable omissions in the catalogue of celebrities ; *British Family Names*. By H. BARBER (10s. 6d. net). A painstaking and laborious work, of which we cannot, however, appraise the value very highly. Long lists of Scandinavian, Frisian, Anglo-Saxon, and Norman names, are given together with derivations, which are in many cases demonstrably wrong ; and four further volumes of the useful reprint of the "Book-lovers' Library" at 1s. 6d. each, viz.: *Walton and some Earlier Writers on Fish and Fishing*, by R. B. MARSTON ; *The Enemies of Books*, by WILLIAM BLADES ; *Books Fatal to their Authors*, by P. H. DITCHFIELD ; and *The Book of Noodles*, by W. A. CLAUSTON, all of which, in this popular form, we heartily commend to all book-lovers for the interest and variety of their contents.

From Mr. Elliot Stock we have also received *The Gentleman's Magazine Library ; English Topography*, Pt. xiv, containing Worcestershire and Yorkshire (7s. 6d. net) ; with which a notable series of volumes of curious and interesting extracts from the inexhaustible mine of Silvanus Urban is worthily brought to a conclusion. To employ a somewhat hackneyed phrase : this is a series which no gentleman's library can afford to dispense with.

From Messrs. Cassell and Co. we have received *Social England*, edited by H. D. TRAILL and J. S. MANX, vols. iii and iv (14s. net each). These two volumes form the continuation of the handsome illustrated edition of this well-known work, and bring the history down to the death of Queen Anne in 1714.

They are equal in all respects to the two first volumes previously noticed in these pages, and are worthy of all praise. Among the most notable illustrations in vol. iii may be mentioned portraits of monarchs and of men renowned in Church and State, literature and science, views of mansions and churches, together with examples of the social condition of the various classes of the population during the period ; and in vol. iv will also be found portraits of kings and statesmen, views of battlefields of the Civil War, old maps and plans, coins, including "siege-pieces" and "gun-money," and a number of drawings by Hollar and others, illustrating the costume and social life of the seventeenth century. The coloured plates in each volume are

particularly noticeable and well-executed, comprising fine portraits of Henry VIII, Queen Elizabeth, and James I; jousts at Westminster Abbey, 1510; a beautiful set of Elizabethan miniatures; a spirited drawing of a French artillery corps in an improvised fort, from a MS. of 1620; Vandevelde's "Sea-Fight in a Harbour—Sunset"; Sir Peter Lely's "Comtesse de Grammont," and many others. The letterpress was entrusted to experts in their several departments, and maintains a high standard throughout. Though popular in the best sense, this great work is singularly free from inaccuracies, and the reader will rise from it with a very vivid picture of the social life of England in all its multitudinous variety during the long centuries of its ever-widening and still expanding history; thus it is eminently calculated to produce and foster a love of archaeology in those who may possibly have been holding aloof from what—especially if they are young—they may have thought of as a dry-as-dust subject, adapted only to grave and reverend seniors, or, as they would probably say, "old fogies." The illustrations in these two volumes number over one thousand, and the coloured plates twenty. Copious lists of authorities are provided, for those who wish to push their studies further into the dim realms where history holds her sway.

Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie. Publié par F. CABROL. Fasc. I. and II, A-Ω—Afrique. Paris, Letouzey et Ané, 5 fr. each net.) We have received these two first fasciculi of what, by the time it is completed, gives promise to prove a great work—great not only in the importance of its subject-matter worthily treated, but also in the size to which it will inevitably attain. These two parts, which, as will be seen, reach no further than the word "Afrique," already comprise no less than 288 closely-printed pages in double columns, each numbered, as is the fashion now in works of this sort; and, to judge from the present instalment, the plan is so arranged as to allow to each writer full scope to produce what is practically a complete monograph on his subject in each several article of any importance.

Dom Cabrol, Prior of Farnborough, has secured the assistance of a comparatively small but learned and competent band of contributors, chief among whom is undoubtedly Dom Leclercq, also of Farnborough. His articles comprise those on "Abécédaire," "Abercius," "Abbrasax," "Abréviations," "Accusations contre les Chrétiens," "Actes des Martyrs," "Ad bestias," and "Ad Sanctos," besides many others. In the first four articles named, as also in a long article on "Aerostiche," Dom Leclercq has brought together a great deal of out-of-the-way

information with regard to the gnostic heresies of the first centuries of Christianity; and in that on "Acrostiche" he gives a facsimile of the curious Greek acrostic hymn lately published from Lord Amherst's collection of papyri by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt, together with its interpretation. In the articles dealing with the martyrdoms, he has compiled an almost exhaustive catalogue of the sources for the early *Acta*, and he makes an altogether scientific use of the evidence from inscriptions. No student of martyrology will be able in future to dispense with the information contained in these articles. The several forms of Christian sepulchral inscriptions are learnedly discussed in the article, "Ad Sanctos." Dom Cabrol, whose work as general editor must be very arduous, has himself contributed several important articles, among which may be mentioned those on the sign "A.-Ω," "Abraham," "Absoute," "Acclamations," "Actio," and other minor ones; while the most important liturgical article so far, that on "L'Accent dans ses rapports avec le plain-chant," is written with much learning and acumen by Dom Gatard, also of Farnborough. The scheme of the book may be judged by giving the synopsis of one of the longer articles, that entitled, "Actes des Martyrs," which extends over seventy-four columns. This is divided as follows:—I. Des pièces contenues sous ce titre. II. Les *Acta*, les *Passiones* et les rédactions non-officielles de témoins oculaires. III. D'une marque d'authenticité. IV. Les formulaires des *Acta Martyrum*. V. Établissement des Actes et leur conservation. VI. Les notaires et la rédaction des *Acta Martyrum*. VII. Des quelques altérations. VIII. Des anciennes collections des Actes de Martyrs. IX. Editions des *Acta Martyrum*. X. Les *Acta Martyrum* authentiques. XI. Les *Acta Martyrum* et l'histoire littéraire. XII. Les *Acta Martyrum* et l'Épigraphie. XIII. Les *Acta Martyrum* et les monuments figurés. XIV. Bibliographie. From this may be judged—and it is only one example—how very fully and completely each subject is treated. It is surveyed in all its bearings, pursued into every ramification, till it seems that nothing is left unsaid, nor hereafter to be said. References to authorities abound on every page, till they become almost bewildering by their copiousness; and each important article, like the one cited, has its bibliography. A notable feature of the work is its illustrations. These first two fasciculi contain four full-page plates, representing the inscription of Abercius, from the Vatican Museum; the *Libera me*, from the MS. d'Hartker, illustrating the article "Absoute," by Dom Cabrol; the Gradual and Communion Psalm, from the MS. of Einsiedeln, illustrating plain-song; and two large folding plates: the first a facsimile of the acrostic hymn from Lord Amherst's collection, mentioned above,

and the second a facsimile of a formula of adjuration on lead, found at Adrumetum in 1890. The illustrations in the text are exceedingly numerous, and are taken from all sources: monuments, tombs, inscriptions, sarcophagi, ancient ivories and bas-reliefs, coins, medals, mosaics, frescoes, medallions, and manuscripts. Those from ancient ivories and bas-reliefs are particularly noteworthy. No work at all commensurate with this great dictionary of Christian antiquity has been so far planned, not to say executed, in English, and when it is completed it will be without a rival in Europe. This will not be for some time if it is maintained on its present scale; but meanwhile we heartily congratulate Dom Cabrol and his fellows, the dispossessed Benedictines of Solesmes, on the happy inception of a great undertaking, which the hospitable soil of England has enabled them to carry out at Farnborough, in doing which they are showing themselves worthy successors of the great Benedictines of St. Maur.

From Messrs. Ermano Loescher & Co. we have received *Studi di Storia Antica*, edited by GIULIO BELOCH. Fasc. III. *Il Calendario Romano all' età della prima guerra Punica*, by PROSPERO VARESE. (Roma: 4 fr. net).—This is a learned dissertation by a well-known scholar on the conflicting opinions derived from the statements of Polybius and other authorities, as to the actual date of events during the second Punic war. By a careful study of these, and a comparison with the *Fasti Triumphales*, Signor Varese is enabled to throw fresh light upon hitherto disputed points, and to make it clear that many important events have hitherto been assigned to the wrong years: *e.g.*, that the battle of the Aegates Islands, which decided the war, took place in 241 B.C., and not in 242 B.C., as hitherto stated. This correction leads, of course, to the readjustment and proper setting of other dates during and after the war down to 219 B.C.

This painstaking little pamphlet is a model of scholarly research in an obscure quarter, and must be taken account of by future historians of the period. A complete Chronological Table, giving the dates of events in the month and year of their happening, according to the author's computations, is appended.

Hierurgia Anglicana, Part I. (The Library of Liturgiology and Ecclesiology, for English Readers, vol. i. Edited by VERNON STALEY. London: The De la More Press, 7s. 6d. net). Mr. Alexander Moring has done well to commence the issue of the Library of Liturgiology with the first portion of a new edition of the *Hierurgia Anglicana*, and to entrust the editing of it to so well-known and so competent a liturgologist as Mr. Vernon Staley, who is also general editor of the whole

series. The *Hierurgia Anglicana*, which first appeared in one volume in 1848, was originally published in numbers, beginning in 1843, and finishing in 1848.

In the original edition the extracts given were not always arranged under particular heads or in chronological order, owing to the irregularity with which they came to hand, but in the present edition the various quotations are, as far as possible, classified. To quote from the original preface: "The design of the present work is to produce in a collected form the historical facts concerning the retention of certain rites and usages since the Reformation . . . which shall set forth in the words of eye-witnesses the actual practice of the Church." The object of the work is to examine how much English churchmen are encouraged to aim at in things ceremonial; to vindicate for our Church that position to which, as a part of the Church Catholic, she is well entitled. Take, for example, the much-disputed "Ornaments Rubric." In the *Hierurgia* will be found copious information from authentic sources as to what these "Ornaments" were, and of the uninterrupted "use" of many of them almost down to the time of the Oxford movement, *e.g.*, of copes, of altar-lights, and even of censers (1550-1761); while the eastward position of the celebrant is shown to have been usual down to the time of the Puritan revolution. The present volume contains no less than 500 extracts from all sources, ranging from 1550 to the beginning of the nineteenth century, 200 of which are new. As far as possible, they have all been collated with the originals, and form a body of evidence which cannot be gainsaid. There are fourteen excellent illustrations.

The First Prayer-Book of King Edward VI. (Library of Liturgiology and Ecclesiology, vol. ii. The De la More Press, 5s. net).—The editor and publisher have been well advised in choosing the first Prayer-Book of King Edward VI for the second volume of this series, for it is not only in itself a beautiful specimen of liturgiology, but also, historically, of the very first importance. It contains the earliest and best expression of the principles of the English Reformation, and vindicates in an unimpeachable manner the strength of the so-called High Church party in the Church of England. As one studies it, one sees clearly the motives which actuated the original Reformers; nothing that was true and valuable in the old services is eliminated, but mediæval accretions on primitive doctrine and practice are sternly removed. Thus, prayers for the dead are retained in beautiful and primitive phraseology; the Saints, including "the glorious and most blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of Thy Son Jesus Christ, our Lord and God,"

are commemorated, but no prayer is addressed to them. The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper is "commonly called the Mass," and the Holy Table is the "Altar." The "Real Presence" is distinctly and plainly stated. The greatest change of all from the past lay in the fact that all the services were in English, "the language understood of the people" whose service-book it was intended to be. In the later revisions the tone of the book was unfortunately lowered to suit the requirements of the Continental reformers, but the fundamental truths still remain, even in our present Prayer-book, and the clergy are still enjoined to confess that the *First Prayer Book of King Edward VI.* contains "nothing superstitious or ungodly." It is sometimes said that the art of composing prayers is a lost one: and, indeed, when our present Prayer-book, to say nothing of modern efforts, is compared with this first blossom of the English Reformation, we can only admire the more the literary ability and devotional spirit of those who drew it up, with so reverent a feeling for all that was good and gracious in the past.

The text adopted in the present edition is taken from that of an impression of the book printed by Edward Whitechurche in March, 1549, all previous reprints having been from a later copy which appeared in May of that year. The volumes of this series, so far as these two are concerned, are well printed on good paper: they are convenient to hold, and pleasant to view; and while we heartily congratulate publisher and editor alike, we trust their enterprise may be rewarded with a large measure of popular support.

From Mr. Moring we have also received *The Love-Letters of Dorothy Osborne to Sir William Temple*, edited by ISRAEL GOLLANCZ (2s. 6d. net), a volume of *The King's Classics*. This is a most charming edition of a true classic, but unfortunately we understand it has had to be withdrawn, owing to a question of copyright.

The Scottish Historical Review, Vol. I., No. 1. (Glasgow: Jas. Maclehose and Sons, 2s. 6d. net quarterly.) *The Scottish Historical Review*, which made its first appearance in October, 1903, is described as "being a New Series of *The Scottish Antiquary*, established 1886." Its scope is to cover the fields of History, Architecture, and Literature, with more particular attention to Scotland and the Borders, and its purpose will be the fostering of historical, archaeological, and literary discovery. We hasten to say that a remarkably good beginning has been made in this first number, which includes a number of articles by writers of proved merit, out of a large number who have promised their support. The opening article is by Professor Walter Raleigh,

who writes on "The Lives of Authors," and gives a graphic and readable account of the growth and advance of literary biography since the seventeenth century, with portraits of Izaak Walton, John Aubrey and Anthony a Wood, and an impression of Aubrey's book plate. The Rev. James Wilson publishes a challenge to historians on the subject of the relations between Cumbria and Scotland in the latter part of the eleventh century, after the Norman Conquest of England, as to which a sharp and complicated controversy has long been in progress, in the shape of an unique and intensely interesting English letter of Gospatric, which he has had the good fortune to recognise among the archives of Lowther Castle, and to bring for the first time to the notice of scholars. Mr. Wilson is convinced that the document is genuine, and that it may be assigned to some period before the conquest of Cumbria by William Rufus in 1092, but after 1067, thus disproving what he himself held till lately, and stated in *The Victoria History of Cumberland*, that "at the present moment not a single genuine charter relating to the county of Cumberland is known of a date anterior to Henry I." It is in the Northumbrian dialect, and as it bristles with points of unusual interest, its discoverer prints it in full, together with a rough translation and copious notes. Thus is patient research rewarded, and this document alone is sufficient to make the reputation of the new review.

In "Scotland described for Queen Magdalene," Mr. A. H. Millar discusses a curious book, written by one Jehan Desmoutiers, an "écuyer" at the court of Francis, King of France, for the unfortunate Princess Magdalene, daughter of Francis, and bride of James V of Scotland. The marriage took place on January 1st, 1536-7, and by July 7th, 1537, the Queen was dead, having only reigned 186 days, 49 of which she spent in the land of her adoption. Scotland was then almost an unknown land, and the book, modelled on the style of Hector Boece, was designed to give her some information about it. Only one copy of the book exists in England, and is in the British Museum. It seems well worthy of being reprinted, as the writer suggests, by the Scottish History Society, with the parallel passages from Boece and Bellenden.

Other articles include "A Cross-Slab at St. Andrew's" and "The Catalogue of Early Christian Monuments in Scotland," the latter being an account of Mr. Romilly Allen's monumental work on the subject, both illustrated. The editor, we notice, has introduced the innovation of placing the writers' names to the reviews of books, which are numerous and carefully done.

Archæological Discoveries in Portugal. — Among the most curious and puzzling discoveries of recent times must be mentioned those made during 1903 in the dolmens near Pouca d'Aguiar, Traz os Montes, Portugal. These are described and fully illustrated in *Portugalia*, Tomo I, Fasc. 1, by Father José Brenha and Don Ricardo Severo, the discoverers.

In exploring the dolmens they came across a chamber which, from all appearances, would seem to have been the secret treasure-house of the tribe, in this respect resembling the *Ertudulunga*, or sacred depository of the *Churinga*, i.e., sacred stones, or sticks, of the Arunta tribe in Central Australia, as described by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen. This chamber had apparently been broken into at some period unknown, but when discovered it was found to contain a number of stone amulets, pierced for suspension, and inscribed with cup-and-ring-marks and ducts, and no less than four figurines, representing females, one of which was curiously egg-shaped, the lower part of the egg terminating in a male face. Together with these there were stones with rude drawings of animals (one representing a horned rhinoceros, another a reindeer, etc.), of a much more debased art than that of the Paleolithic people of La Madeleine Cave and elsewhere; and also, most remarkable of all, several stones inscribed with letters in a script bearing a distinct resemblance to the Cretan script discovered by Mr. Arthur Evans at Knossos. Leaving these latter discoveries, for the present, with the remark that the whole series would appear to be, if genuine, Neolithic, and that the last points to a widespread commercial intercourse among the peoples of the Mediterranean in early times, we would direct attention to the amulets and figurines. When, in 1898, Mr. Donnelly announced his discoveries at the Dumbuck "Crannog" on the Clyde, as previously at the hill-fort of Dumbuck in the same neighbourhood, there were none of his "finds" which evoked more ridicule, or against which the charge of forgery was more strongly pressed, than the amulets and figurines. "No place can be found for these in any known phase of Scottish archaeology" was the cry; "give us European parallels." These parallels are now produced from an unexpected quarter, and, like the Clydeside "finds," they are at once denounced as forgeries by more than one expert. Without deciding one way or the other, it may be remarked that those who express this opinion appear to forget that other European parallels exist, viz., the Neolithic figurines discovered and described by Herr Klebs in East Prussia in 1882, as well as those described by the Hon. John Abercromby, in his *Pre- and Proto-historic Finns* in 1895, by Dr. Hoernes, in his *Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst in Europa*, from Transylvania, Hun-

gary, Servia, and other parts of Europe, not to mention those described by M. Reinach, in *L'Anthropologie* (1894, 1895) ; and M. Cartailhac in his books on Prehistoric France, Spain and Portugal ; and others. If the Portuguese and Scotch "finds" are forgeries, what assurance have we that these others are genuine ! And if one cannot believe that the resemblances are due to independent coincidences, then there must be a gigantic scheme of forgery in existence, of which no one has heard, extending over twenty years, and apparently without any assignable motive whatever ! But this is a *reductio ad absurdum* ; and the only alternative is almost as absurd : to suppose that the forgers in Scotland and in Portugal must have been in collusion, and must have agreed to copy the same things !

Until the forgers are discovered, it appears more scientific to suspend judgment and to allow room for the possibility that all these "finds" point to a particular phase in the development of peoples in the Neolithic stage of culture in Europe—to which we have a parallel on a lower scale in the Australian native to-day—the stage in which society was probably organised on a totemistic basis, and amulets and figurines represented ideas, magical and religious, which exercised a vital influence on men's minds. The subject will shortly be more fully brought before the members of this Association.





INDEX

The titles of Papers are in black type.

The names of Books reviewed or referred to are in italics.

- Address, Inaugural, 1
Ancient Britain, Mining Tribes of, by
 Rev. W. S. Lach-Szyrma, 191
 — paper read, 138
Ancient Rites of Durham, 125, 126
Andrea Palladio, 223
 ANDREW (W. J.), F.S.A., on **Buried
 Treasure**, 8
 "Anglezarke, The," explained, 20
Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 16, 21
Annals of Winchester, 22
 Annual General Meeting 1903, 138
Antiquary, The, 34 seq.
Antiquities (Grose), 53
Archæologia Cambrensis, 60, 62
 Archæological Discoveries in Portugal,
 231
Archæology of Wood, The, by Charles
 B. Plowright, M.D., 95
 — *Art of Dyeing*, 104
 — *Glastum*, explained, 95
 — *Historia Plantarum*, 102
 — *History of Drugs*, 102, 109
 — *Traité sur le Pastel*, 110
 — *Wood Culture*, by Wedelius, 100
 ASTLEY (Rev. H. J. Dukinfield), Exhibi-
 tions by, 137, 209, 210
 — on **Langbank Crannog**, 59
 — reads Paper on **The Effects of the
 Dissolution of the Monasteries on
 Popular Education in England**, 137
 — **a Group of Norman Fonts
 in North-west Norfolk**, 76
 — **John Salisbury, Last Prior
 of St. Faith's**, by Miss Longe, 144
 — on exhibition of **Bronzes**, 78

- BARBER (H.) *British Family Names*,
 224
Boke of Rome, explained, 11
 Boly Hill, Rochester, 69
Book-Owners' Library, 4 vols., 224

- Britain's Burse, or The New Ex-
 change**, by T. N. Brushfield, M.D.,
 F.S.A., 33, 81
 — Adelphi Buildings and Terrace,
 90
 — Code of Regulations of, 92
 — Durham House, London, 33
 — *Herodias of Alexandria* His His-
 tory, 1629), by Hugh Perrie (Perry),
 83
 — *History of London*, by Maitland,
 90
 — Orders for the Burse, 92
 — *Pepys' Diary*, 35
 — *Philaster; or, Love Lies a-Bleeding*
 (Beaumont and Fletcher), printed 1620,
 83
 — *The English Husbandman*, Gervaise
 Markham, 83
 — *The Insatiate Countess* (J. Marston,
 1631), 83
 — trades carried on in, 82 seq.
 — tragical allair in, 84
British Family Names, 224
 BRUSHFIELD (T. N., M.D., F.S.A.), on
**Britain's Burse, or The New Ex-
 change**, 33, 81
**Buried Treasure: Some Traditions,
 Records, and Facts**, by W. J. An-
 drew, F.S.A., 8
 — Bedworth Hoard, The, 20
 — Buckton Castle, earthwork, 9
 — Cairn at Bryn-y-Ellylon, Mold,
 North Wales, 10
 — Colchester Find, The, 26
 — Cuerdale Hoard, The, 11
 — King John's Army Chest, 31
 — Norries Law, tumulus, Largs, Fif-
 shire, 10
 — Nottingham Hoard, The, 24
 — Roman Ribchester, 10
 — Tutbury Hoard, The, 28
Burse of Reformation, The, 46

CARROL (DOME), *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne*, 225
Casa de Bello Gallico, 95
Calendar of State Papers, 36 seq.

Castle of Dunstanburgh, The, by C. H. Compton, V.-P., 111; paper read, 77

— Close Rolls of, 113

Castles of England, The, 115

CHENEY (A. D.), Postling Church, Kent, 80

Chislehurst Caves and Dene-Holes, The, by W. J. Nichols, V.-P., 147

Chronicles of Melrose, 27

Civilization of Crete, Cyrene, Corinth, and Early Rome, paper on, read by Dr. Phenè, F.S.A., V.-P., 80

Civil War Tracts of Lancashire, 5

Cobham Church, visited and described, 71

— College, visited and described, 74

— Hall described, 79

Colchester Find, The, 26

COLLIER (Mrs.), exhibition by, 136

COMPTON (C. H., V.-P.), on Dunstanborough, Castle of, 111

Compton Church, visited, 133

Congress at Westminster and Home Counties, Proceedings of, 65, 133, 197

— **China and Porcelain**, old, exhibition of, by R. Duppa Lloyd, 68

— **Cobham Church**, visited and described, 71

— — Brasses, 74

— — Monuments, 72

— **Cobham College**, visited, 74

— — history of, 75

— **Colchester**, visited, 197

— **Compton Church**, visit to, 133

— **Guildford, Abbot's Hospital**, 136

— — **Castle**, 136

— — **Guildhall**, 136

— — **Museum**, 136

— — **St. Mary's Church**, 136, 134

— **Loseley Place**, visited, 134

— **Rochester Castle**, visited, 69

— — walling in, 69

— — **Boly Hill Earthworks**, 69

— — **Cathedral**, described, 70

— — **Saxon building**, 70

— **Staple Inn**, visited, 200

— **Westminster Abbey**, visited, 200

— — **St. Margaret's Church**, visited,

66

— — — window in, 67

Copt Hall, Essex, 67

Cotton MSS., Titus, f. 13, 115

COVERLEY (REV. J. S.), exhibition by, 143

— **Shears and other Emblems**, paper on, read by, 143

Coedale Hoard, The, 11

DAVIE AND TANNER, Old English Doorways, 222

Dene-holes, 155

— modern examples, 159

Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie, 225

DRYDEN (ALFRED), Memorials of Old Northamptonshire, 221

Dunstanborough, Castle of, by C. H. Compton, V.-P., 111

— Camden's description of, 112

DUPPA LLOYD (R.), exhibition by, 68

Durham House, 33

Earthwork, Buckton Castle, 9

Effects of the Dissolution of the Monasteries on Popular Education in England, paper on, read by Rev. H. J. D. Astley, 137

England's Vanity, 88

EVELYN-WHITE (REV. C. H.), The "Galilee" considered as a Place of Sanctuary, 117

First Prayer-Book of Edward VI, 228

FLETCHER (BANISTER), A History of Architecture, 222

— *Andrea Palladio*, 223

FORSTER (R. H.), exhibition by, 77

France, Short Notes of some Churches in, by Andrew Oliver, 78

"Galilee" considered as a Place of Sanctuary, The, by Rev. C. H. Evelyn-White, F.S.A., 117

— "Galilee," term explained, 117

— suggested derivation, 121

— **Peace Chair, Hexham**, 131

— "Sanctuary," term explained, 122

— **Sanctuary Knocker**, 128

Gentleman's Magazine, 1-9

Gentleman's Magazine Library (Topography, Worcestershire and Yorks), 224

GOLLANCZ (Israel), Love-Letters of Dorothy Osborne, 229

GOULD (I. C.) describes East Window of St. Margaret's, Westminster, 67

Granges of Margam Abbey, The, Notes on, by Thomas Gray, J.P., M.Inst. C.E., 161; paper read, 143

— *Annales de Margam*, 164

— **Bodvoc Stone, The**, 179

— **Chapel of St. Thomas, The**, 167

— **Grangia de Melis, The**, 165

— **Gwal Saeson, The**, 166

— **Hafod**, 176

— **New Marsh, The**, 170

— **Pendryd Waelod**, 171

— **Port Talbot Stone, The**, 167

GRAY (Thomas), J. P., Notes on the Granges of Margam Abbey, 161

Greek and Roman Antiquities, exhibition of, and paper read, by George Patrick, 77

Guildford visited, 135
 ——— Castle, visited and described, 136
 ——— St. Mary's Church, visited and described, 135

Handbook of the Coins of Great Britain, 15

Haunted London, 38

Henson, Rev. Canon Hensley, describes St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, 65; Abbey, 200

HERVEY (Lord Francis), *Suffolk in the Seventeenth Century*, 213

Hocham Chronicle, 25

Hierurgia Anglicana, 227

History of the Antiquities of Northumberland, 112

History of Architecture, A, 222

History of Cambria, 161

History of Dulwich College, 185

History of Great Britain, 40

History of Northumberland, 114

Hulne Priory, Alnwick, Northumberland, by George Patrick, A.R.I.B.A., 49

——— Carmelites, why so called, 49

——— "rule" of, 50

——— Charters of, 51

——— John de Vesci, 51

——— De Vesci, William, founder, 50

——— Description and Plan, 55, 56

Inaugural Address, 1

Inscriptiones Britannie Christiane, 181

Jeanne d'Arc, 1429-1431, 215

John Lackland, 217

KERSHAW (S. W., F.S.A.), on "Oatlands in Weybridge," 182

Keston, Roman finds at, 149

King John's Army Chest, 31

LACH-SYZRMA (Rev. W. S.), on **The Mining Tribes of Ancient Britain**, 191; paper read, 138

La France Préhistorique, 61

Langbank Crannog, Some Further Notes on, by Rev. H. J. Dukinfield Astley, M.A., F.R.Hist.S., etc., 59

——— Age of, probable, 64

——— Boyd Dawkins, Prof., referred to, 60

——— Bruce (Jn.), quoted, 63

——— Late-Celtic art, 63

——— Romilly Allen quoted, 61

Lapidarium Wallie, 181

Legends of the Monastic Orders, 51

Les Âges Préhistoriques de l'Espagne et du Portugal, 62

Life and Times of Alfred the Great, 211

Literature of the Celts, The, 211

Loseley Place, visited and described, 134

Love-Letters of Dorothy Osborne, 229

1903.

MACLEAN (Magnus), *Literature of the Celts*, 211

Malden, Elliot, describes Guildford Castle, 136

Margam Abbey, Granges of, by Thomas Gray, J.P., 161

——— paper read, 143

Mettles of Hibernia, 28

Memorials of the Stream, 35

Memorials of Old Northamptonshire, 221

Mining Tribes of Ancient Britain,

The, by the Rev. W. S. Lach Syzrma, M.A., 191

Moirs Borb, 9

Monasteries, Effects of the Dissolution of, paper read by Rev. H. J. D. Astley, 137

MURRAY-SMITH (Mrs.), *Roll-Call of Westminster Abbey*, 214

MURRAY (J. Douglas), *Jeanne d'Arc*, 215

NEVILL (Ralph, F.S.A.), describes Compton Church, 133

——— Loseley Place, 134

NICHOLS (W. J., V.-P.), on **The Chislehurst Caves and Dene-holes**, 147

——— exhibitions by, 80, 209

NORGATE (Kate), *John Lackland*, 217

Norman Founts North-west Norfolk, paper on, read by Rev. H. J. D. Astley, 76

Notes and Queries, 39 seq.

Notes on the Sheffield Congress, 201

Nottingham Hoard, The, 24

Noviomagus, 149

Oatlands in Weybridge, by S. W. Kershaw, F.S.A., 182

——— described in Pocock's *Travels*, 189

——— Dugdale's *British Traveller*, 189

——— *Gentleman's Magazine*, 189

——— Park, 187

——— Royal Palace, 183

——— Silk-worm room at, 184

Old English Doorways, 222

OLIVER (Andrew), Notes on Churches in, 78

——— exhibitions by, 80, 143

Pasquin's Palinodia, 45

PATRICK (George), A.R.I.B.A., on **Hulne Priory**, 49

——— exhibition by, 76

PAYNE (Geo.), F.S.A., describes Cobham Hall and Church, 71

——— Rochester Town and Castle, 69

PHENÉ (Dr.), F.S.A., V.-P., **Civilization of Crete, Cyrene, Corinth, and Early Rome**, paper on, read by, 80

FLOWRIGHT (Charles B.), M.D., on **The Archæology of Woad**, 95

- PLUMMER (Ch.), *Life and Times of Alfred the Great*, 211
- Portugal. Archaeological Discoveries in, 231
- Postling Church, Kent, paper on, read by A. D. Cherry, 80
- PRICE-STRETCH (T. E.), exhibition by, 77
- PROBYN (Lieut.-Col. Clifford), *Inaugural Address*, 1
- Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, 34
- READE (Compton), *The Smith Family*, 223
- Rochester Town and Castle, by Geo. Payne, F.S.A., description of, 69
- Roger of Wendover*, 27
- Roll-Call of Westminster Abbey*, 214
- Roman Camp, Ribchester, 10
- Salisbury (John), Last Prior of St. Faith's, by Miss Longe; paper read by Rev. H. J. D. Astley, 144
- "Sanctuary," meaning of term, 119
- rights curtailed, 132
- knockers, 128 seq.
- SCOTT (P.), exhibitions by, 78, 80
- Scottish Historical Review, The*, 229
- Secretaries' Report, 139
- She Would if She Could*, 87
- Shears and other Implements, paper on, read by Rev. J. S. Coverley, 142
- Sheffield Congress, notes on, 201
- Silver Coins of England*, 13, 14
- Social England*, vols. iii and iv, 224
- Some Further Notes on the Langbank Crannog, by Rev. H. J. Dukinfield Astley, 59
- STALEY (Vernon), *Hierurgia Anglicana*, 227
- Staple Inn and its Story*, 219
- State Papers, Dom.*, 41 seq.
- Storia Antica: Il Calendario Romano*, 227
- Stratford-on-Avon, Henley Street alterations, 441 seq.
- Suffolk in the XVIIth Century*, 213
- Survey of Cathedrals*, 123
- Survey of London (Stow)*, 33 seq.
- The Smith Family*, 223
- Torrent of Portugal*, 11
- TRAILL and MANN, *Social England*, 224
- Tumulus, Norries Law, Largs, Fifeshire, 10
- Tutbury Hoard, The, 28
- Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst in Europa*, 61
- VARESE (Prospero) *Il Calendario Romano all'età della prima guerra Punica*, 227
- "Wall of Rome," explained, 11
- Westminster and Home Counties Congress, proceedings of, 65
- Abbey, described, 200
- Weybridge, Oatlands in, paper read by S. W. Kershaw, 182
- WINSTONE (B.), exhibition by, 80
- WORSFOLD (T. Cato), *Staple Inn and its Story*, 219
- Worthies of England*, 186



INDEX
OF
ARCHÆOLOGICAL
PAPERS
PUBLISHED
IN
1902

[BEING THE TWELFTH ISSUE OF THE SERIES AND COMPLETING THE
INDEX FOR THE PERIOD 1891-1902]

COMPILED BY
GEORGE LAURENCE GOMME, F.S.A.

PUBLISHED BY
ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE & COMPANY LTD
2 WHITEHALL GARDENS, WESTMINSTER
UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE CONGRESS OF
ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETIES IN UNION WITH
THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES
1903

BUTLER & TANNER,
THE SELWOOD PRINTING WORKS,
FROME, AND LONDON.

CONTENTS

[Those Transactions for the first time included in the index are marked with an asterisk, the others are continuations from the indexes of 1891-1902. Transactions included for the first time are indexed from 1891 onwards.]*

- Anthropological Institute, Journal, N.S. vol. v. pt. 1.
Antiquaries, London, Proceedings of the Society, 2nd S. vol. xix. pt. 1.
Antiquaries, Ireland, Proceedings of Royal Society of, 5th S. vol. xii.
Antiquaries, Scotland, Proceedings of the Society, vol. xxxvi.
Archæologia, vol. lviii. pt. 1.
Archæologia Æliana, vol. xxiv. pt. 1.
Archæologia Cambrensis, 6th S. vol. ii.
Archæological Journal, vol. lix.
Biblical Archæology, Society of, Proceedings, vol. xxiv.
Birmingham and Midland Institute, Transactions, vols. xxv. xxvi. xxvii.
and xxviii.
Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society, Transactions, vol. xxiv.
British Archæological Association, Journal, N.S., vol. viii.
British Architects, Royal Institute of, Journal, 3rd S. vol. viii.
Buckinghamshire, Records of, vol. viii. pt. 5.
Cornwall, Royal Institute of, Proceedings, vol. xv. pt. 1.
Cumberland and Westmorland Archæological Society, Transactions, N.S.
vol. ii.
Derbyshire Archæological Society, Transactions, vol. xxiv.
Devonshire Association, Transactions, vol. xxxiv.
East Herts Archæological Society, vol. ii. pt. 1.
Essex Archæological Society, Transactions, N.S. vol. viii. pt. 4.

- Folklore, Proceedings of the Folklore Society, vol. xiii.
Hellenic Society, Journal, vol. xxii.
Kildare Archæological Society, Transactions, vol. iv. pt. 1.
Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, Transactions, vol. xvii.
Lancashire and Cheshire Historic Society, Transactions, 2nd ser. vol. xvii.
Montgomeryshire Collections, vol. xxxii.
Monumental Brass Society, Transactions, vol. iv. pts. 5, 6 and 7.
Numismatic Chronicle, 4th ser. vol. ii.
Royal Historical Society, Transactions, N.S. vol. xvi.
St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society, Transactions, vol. v. pt. 2.
Shropshire Archæological and Natural History Society, Transactions, 3rd S. vol. ii.
Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society, Transactions, vol. xlviii.
Suffolk Archæological Institute, vol. xi. pt. 2.
Surrey Archæological Society, Collections, vol. xvii.
Sussex Archæological Collections, vol. xlv.
Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Magazine, vol. xxxii.
Yorkshire Archæological and Topographical Journal, vol. xvi. pt. 4, xvii. pt. 1.

NOTE

THIS Index was begun under the auspices of the Congress of Archaeological Societies in union with the Society of Antiquaries. Its success being assured, the Congress have placed it in the hands of the publishers to continue yearly.

The value of the Index to archæologists is now recognised. Every effort is made to keep its contents up to date and continuous, but it is obvious that the difficulties are great unless the assistance of the societies is obtained. If for any reason the papers of a society are not indexed in the year to which they properly belong, the plan is to include them in the following year; and whenever the papers of societies are brought into the Index for the first time they are then indexed from the year 1891.

By this plan it will be seen that the year 1891 is treated as the commencing year for the Index, and that all transactions published in and since that year will find their place in the series.

To make this work complete an index of the transactions from the beginning of archæological societies down to the year 1890 is needed. This work is now going through the press.

Societies will greatly oblige by communicating any omissions or suggestions to the editor, LAURENCE GOMME, F.S.A., 24, Dorset Square, London, N.W.

Single copies of the yearly Index from 1891 may be obtained. Many of the Societies in union with the Society of Antiquaries take a sufficient number of copies of the yearly Index to issue with their transactions to each of their members. The more this plan is extended the less will be the cost of the Index to each society.

The subscription list for the complete Index up to 1890 is still open, and intending subscribers should apply at once to MESSRS. ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE & Co.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL INDEX

- ABERCROMBY (HON. J.). Account of the excavation of the Roman station at Iuchtuthil, Perthshire; history of the site and description of the excavations. *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* xxxvi. 182-203.
- ADAMS (MAXWELL). Index to the printed literature relating to North Devon. *Dev. Assoc.* xxxiv. 344-393.
- ADDY (S. O.). The collection of folklore. *Folklore*, xiii. 297-299.
- Garland day at Castleton. *Folklore*, xiii. 313.
- Butterfly charm. *Folklore*, xiii. 432.
- AITCHISON (PROF.). St. Peter's, Rome. *Roy. Inst. Brit. Archit.* 3rd S. viii. 245-255, 453-463.
- ALEXANDER (W. C.). Painted glass from a window in the church of St. Thomas à Becket, Brightling, Sussex. *Sussex Arch. Coll.* xlv. 180-185.
- ALLEN (J. ROMILLY). Old farm-houses with round chimneys near St. Davids. *Arch. Camb.* 6th S. ii. 1-24.
- The chevron and its derivatives: a study in the art of the bronze age. *Arch. Camb.* 6th S. ii. 182-229.
- Early inscribed cross slab at Llanveynoe, Herefordshire. *Arch. Camb.* 6th S. ii. 239.
- On an inscribed and sculptured Norman tympanum in Hawksworth church, Nottinghamshire. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd S. xix. 88-95.
- ALLEN (REV. W. T.). The family of Catchmay. *Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.* xxiv. 142-155.
- AMERY (P. F. S.). Nineteenth report on Folklore of Devonshire. *Dev. Assoc.* xxxiv. 83-89.
- AMOS (A.). Datchworth church. *East Herts Arch. Soc.* ii. 68-71.
- ANDERSON (A. W.) and W. B. GERISH. Knebworth church. *East Herts Arch. Soc.* ii. 72-77.
- ANDERSON (JOSEPH). Notices of cists discovered in a cairn at Cairn-hill, parish of Monquhitter, Aberdeenshire, and at Doune, Perthshire. *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* xxxvi. 675-688.

- ANDERSON (JOSEPH). Account of the excavation of the Roman station at Inchtuthil, Perthshire: notice of the pottery, bronze and other articles. *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* xxxvi. 236-242.
- ANDREW (W. J.). Some Derbyshire fonts. *Derby Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* xxiv. 163-168.
- Ramblings of an antiquary: the Old Hall at Mickleover. *Derby Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* xxiv. 169-171.
- ANDREWS (FRANCIS B.). Mediaeval or tithe barns. *Birm. and Mid. Inst.* xxvi. 10-32.
- The mediaeval seals of Worcestershire. *Birm. and Mid. Inst.* xxviii. 15-36.
- ANDREWS (R. T.). The Rye house castle and manor of Rye. *East Herts Arch. Soc.* ii. 32-45.
- ANDREWS (W. F.). The ruined church of Chisfield, Stevenage. *East Herts Arch. Soc.* ii. 18-22.
- Stanstead St. Margaret's church. *East Herts Arch. Soc.* ii. 23-26.
- ARNOLD (F. H.). Interesting finds at Chichester. *Sussex Arch. Coll.* xlv. 212.
- Hiding place at Slindon. *Sussex Arch. Coll.* xlv. 213.
- Finds at Selsey rectory. *Sussex Arch. Coll.* xlv. 213.
- City of Chichester standing orders, 1688. *Sussex Arch. Coll.* xlv. 213-214.
- The dead man's hand. *Sussex Arch. Coll.* xlv. 215.
- Is a barber a tradesman. *Sussex Arch. Coll.* xlv. 215-216.
- ASHBY (THOMAS, JUN.), ALFRED E. HUDD, and A. T. MARTIN. Excavations at Caerwent, Monmouthshire, on the site of the Romano-British city of Venta Silurum, in 1901. *Arch.* lviii. 119-152.
- ASSINGTON church and the hall. *Suffolk Inst. Arch.* xi. 225-227.
- ASTLEY (REV. H. J. DUKINFIELD). The early history and associations of Lindisfarne, or Holy island, Northumberland. *Brit. Arch. Assoc.* N.S. viii. 115-128, 179-194.
- ATCHLEY (E. G. C. F.). Mediaeval parish-clerks in Bristol. *St. Paul's Eccles. Soc.* v. 107-116.
- The Hallesway chauntry at All Saints', Bristol. *Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.* xxiv. 74-125.
- AUDEN (REV. T.). Two royal paramours. *Shropshire Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* 3rd S. ii. 248-254.
- AXON (ERNEST). The Owen MSS. *Lancs. and Chesh. Antiq. Soc.* xvii. 48-63.
- AXON (W. E. A.). Simwnt Fychan's Welsh translation of Martial's

- Epigram of the Happy Life*, 1571. *Laues. and Chesh. Antiq. Soc.* xvii. 213-217.
- AYLOTT (G.). The Tylers' guildhall, Hitchin. *East Herts Arch. Soc.* ii. 78-81.
- BAILEY (GEORGE). The recent discovery of gravestones at St. Peter's church, Derby. *Derby Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* xxiv. 48-56.
- BAKER (JAMES). Aust and Wiclif. *Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.* xxiv. 267-273.
- BAKER-PENNOYRE (J. Ff.). Pheneus and the Pheneatiké. *Journ. Hell. Stud.* xxii. 228-240.
- BALCARRES (LORD). Notes on a double painted triptych of the sixteenth century. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd S. xix. 136-140.
- BALFOUR (HENRY). The Goura, a stringed-wind musical instrument of the Bushmen and Hottentots. *Anthrop. Inst. N.S.* v. 156-176.
- BALL (F. E.). Rathmichael and its neighbourhood. *Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, 5th S. xii. 113-127.
- . The battle of Rathmines. *Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, 5th S. xii. 246-256.
- BALL (H. H.). Stawell of Kilbrittain, co. Cork. *Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, 5th S. xii. 266.
- BARBOUR (JAMES). Notice of the excavation of the camp or earthwork at Rispa in Wigtownshire. *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* xxxvi. 621-626.
- BARING-GOULD (REV. S.). Catalogue of saints connected with Cornwall, with an epitome of their lives, and list of churches and chapels dedicated to them. *Roy. Inst. Cornwall*, xv. 17-53.
- BARKER (W. R.). Remains of a Roman villa discovered at Brislington, Bristol, 1899. *Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.* xxiv. 283-292.
- BARROW-IN-FURNESS (BISHOP OF). Bishop Nicholson's diaries. *Cumb. and West. Antiq. and Arch. Soc.* N.S. ii. 155-230.
- BATES (REV. E. H.). An inventory of church plate in Somerset. *Somerset Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* xlviii. 79-101.
- BAX (ALFRED RIDLEY). The names of the Surrey contributors to the loan of King Charles I. *Surrey Arch. Soc.* xvii. 77-82.
- . Parliamentary survey of church lands in Surrey, made between 1649-1658. *Surrey Arch. Soc.* xvii. 83-121.
- BEDDOE (JOHN). Report on bones from Harlyn bay. *Roy. Inst. Cornwall*, xv. 161-178.
- BEDFORD (FRANCIS W.). Walton abbey. *Roy. Inst. Brit. Archit.* 3rd S. viii. 468.

- BELL (C. C.). A written charm. *Folklore*, xiii. 92-94.
- BERRY (H. F.). Remarks on a Revue Celtique of Maurice O'Gibellan, a fourteenth century canonist, in connexion with his knowledge of Ogham. *Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, 5th S. xii. 158-162.
- BEST (ELSDON). Maori nomenclature: notes on the consanguineous, affinitative, personal, tribal, topographical, floral, and ornithological nomenclature of the Maori race of New Zealand. *Anthrop. Inst. N.S.* v. 182-201.
- BEVAN (E. R.). Antiochus III. and his title, "Great King." *Journ. Hell. Stud.* xxii. 241-244.
- BEWITCHING. *Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, 5th S. xii. 265.
- BEWLEY (SIR E. T.). Notes on the Lowthers who held judicial office in Ireland in seventeenth century. *Cumb. and West. Antiq. and Arch. Soc.* N.S. ii. 1-30.
- BIGGER (F. J.). Irish gold coin weights temp. Queen Anne. *Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, 5th S. xii. 413.
- BILSON (JOHN). Fountains abbey. *Roy. Inst. Brit. Archit.* 3rd S. viii. 365-368.
- BILSON (W. T.). St. Mary's Church, Reading. *Berks, Bucks, and Oxon Arch. Journ.* viii. 94-95.
- BLAIR (ROBERT). A Roman inscribed stone, found at Longwitton, Northumberland. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd S. xix. 42-43.
- BLAKER (R.). Ancient cultivations. *Sussex Arch. Coll.* xlv. 198-203.
- BLANCHET (A.) and H. A. GRUEBER. Treasure trove: its ancient and modern laws. *Num. Chron.* 4th S. ii. 148-175.
- BOISSIER (ALFRED). Matériaux pour l'étude de la religion Assyro-Babylonienne. *Bibl. Arch. Soc.* xxiv. 220-233.
- BOND (FRANCIS). Rochester cathedral. *Roy. Inst. Brit. Archit.* 3rd S. viii. 105-106.
- Classification of Romanesque architecture. *Roy. Inst. Brit. Archit.* 3rd S. viii. 269-293.
- BOND (F. BLIGH) and A. L. RADFORD. Devonshire screens and rood lofts. *Devon. Assoc.* xxxiv. 531-550.
- BOSANQUET (R. C.) and M. N. TOD. Archaeology in Geece, 1901-1902. *Journ. Hell. Stud.* xxii. 378-394.
- BOWLES (CHARLES E. B.). Concerning the commons and waste lands in various townships in the High Peak. *Derby Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* xxiv. 32-41.
- A lease of Bradshaw Hall and lands, in lieu of a will, from

- William Bradshawe to Henry his son and heir, 1478. *Derby Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* xxiv. 42-43.
- Proceedings prior to the divorce of Godfrey Bradshawe and Margaret Howe, 1551. *Derby Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* xxiv. 44-47.
- BRAKSPEAR (H.). Architecture of Hayles Abbey. *Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.* xxiv. 126-135.
- BREASTED (PROF. J. H.). The mythological text from Memphis again. *Bibl. Arch. Soc.* xxiv. 300.
- BRIDGEMAN (REV. E. R. O.) and C. G. O. BRIDGEMAN. The sequestration papers of Sir Orlando Bridgeman. *Shropshire Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* 3rd S. ii. 1-64.
- BROWN (ROBERT, JUNR.). Note on the heavenly body $\ggg\vee>\ggg\vee>\frac{1}{2}$. *Bibl. Arch. Soc.* xxiv. 126-129.
- BRUSHFIELD (T. N.). John Sixtinus, archpriest of Haccombe, sixteenth century. *Devon. Assoc.* xxxiv. 276-288.
- Raleghana: Sir Henry de Ralegh, 1301. *Devon. Assoc.* xxxiv. 455-481.
- BRYDON (J. M.). Examples from Piranesi. *Roy. Inst. Brit. Archit.* 3rd S. viii. 267-268.
- BYRCE (THOMAS H., M.D.). On the cairns of Arran: a record of explorations, with an anatomical description of the human remains discovered. *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* xxxvi. 74-181.
- BUICK (REV. G. R.). "Giant's Grave," Loughloughan, Broughshane, co. Antrim. *Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, 5th S. xii. 163-172.
- Further notice of the Connor Ogams and on a cross at Connor. *Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, 5th S. xii. 239-245.
- BULL (F. ELRINGTON). St. Patrick's well. *Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, 5th S. xii. 187.
- BURKITT (F. C.). The so-called *Quinta* of four kings. *Bibl. Arch. Soc.* xxiv. 216-219.
- Fragments of some early Greek MSS. on papyrus. *Bibl. Arch. Soc.* xxiv. 290-292.
- BURNARD (ROBERT). Disappearing stone monuments of Dartmoor. *Devon Assoc.* xxxiv. 166-167.
- Eighth report of the Dartmoor Exploration Committee. *Devon. Assoc.* xxxiv. 160-165.
- BURNE (C. S.). Charm against the evil eye. *Folklore*, xiii. 202.
- The collection of folklore. *Folklore*, xiii. 299-302.
- BURTCHAELL (G. D.). The Geraldines of the co. Kilkenny. *Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, 5th S. xii. 128-131.

- BURTHAELL (G. D.). Badge of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland. *Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, 5th S. xii. 417-418.
- CALDECOTT (J. B.). Seal of Nicholas Dillon. *East Herts Arch. Soc.* ii. 83-84.
- CANNIBALISM among the Scoti. *Roy. Soc. Ant. Ircl.* 5th S. xii. 192-193.
- CARLYON-BRITTON (P.). Bedwin and Marlborough and the moneyer Cilda. *Num. Chron.* 4th S. ii. 20-25.
- On a rare sterling of Henry Earl of Northumberland. *Num. Chron.* 4th S. ii. 26-33.
- On the coins of William I. and II. and the sequence of the types. *Num. Chron.* 4th S. ii. 208-223.
- CARRINGTON (W. A.). The early lords of Belvoir. *Brit. Arch. Assoc.* N.S. viii. 17-38.
- Subsidy for the Hundred of Scarsdale, 1599. *Derby Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* xxiv. 5-25.
- Deeds, etc., enrolled, county of Derby. *Derby Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* xxiv. 57-67.
- CHARLESON (M. M.). Notice of a chambered cairn in the parish of Firth, Orkney. *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* xxxvi. 733-738.
- CHATTAWAY (REV. FATHER ARTHUR). Manduessedum Romanorum: Mancetter. *Birm. and Mid. Inst.* xxvi. 1-9.
- CHITTY (HERBERT). Thomas Stevens. "primus in Indis." *Wilts Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* xxxii. 220-223.
- CHOPE (R. PEARSE). Early history of the manor of Hartland. *Devon Assoc.* xxxiv. 418-454.
- CHRISTISON (D., M.D.). The carvings and inscriptions of the kirk-yard monuments of the Scottish lowlands, particularly in Perth, Fife, Angus, Mearns, and Lothian. *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* xxxvi. 280-457.
- CHRISTISON (DAVID). Notices of an ancient fort and a stone circle at Wester Torrie, near Callander, Perthshire. *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* xxxvi. 614-620.
- CHRISTY MILLER and W. W. PORTEOUS. Essex brasses recently refixed. *Essex Arch. Soc.* viii. 362-368.
- CHURCH (PROF. A. H.). Notes on the material of certain Cypriote cylinder-seals. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd S. xix. 131-133.
- CHURCHILL (WALTER J.). Crick and Astley: two sister churches. *Birm. and Mid. Inst.* xxv. 12-20.
- CLARK (T. P.). On some discoveries at Llangendierne church, Caermarthenshire. *Arch. Camb.* 6th S. ii. 128-131.

- CLARKE (SOMERS). A few notes connected with archaeology in Egypt. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd S. xix. 117-123.
- CLARK-MAXWELL (REV. W. G.). The customs of the four manors of the abbey of Iacock. *Wilts Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* xxxii. 311-346.
- CLEPHAN (R. C.). Notes on Roman and mediæval military engines. *Arch. Æliana*, xxiv. 69-114.
- CLIMENSON (EMILY J.). Roman Road at Wargrave. *Berks, Bucks and Oxon Arch Journ.* vii. 120-121.
- CLINCH (G.). Prehistoric chambers discovered at Waddon, near Croydon. *Surrey Arch. Soc.* xvii. 181-183.
- COCHRANE (R.). Monuments and inscriptions in Bath relating to Irish persons. *Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, 5th S. xii. 173-177.
- On Brighter, Limavady, co. Londonderry, and on the find of gold ornaments there in 1896. *Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, 5th S. xii. 211-224.
- CODRINGTON (O.). Some rare oriental coins. *Num. Chron.* 4th S. ii. 267-274.
- COFFEY (G.). A pair of brooches and chains of the Viking period recently found in Ireland. *Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, 5th S. xii. 71-73.
- COLES (FRED. R.). Report on stone circles in Aberdeenshire (Inverurie, eastern parishes, and Inch districts), with measured plans and drawings obtained under the Gunning fellowship. *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* xxxvi. 488-581.
- Notice of the discovery of cists containing urns at Succoth place, near Garscube terrace, Edinburgh. *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* xxxvi. 670-674.
- COLLINGWOOD (W. G.). Report on excavations at the holy well, Gosforth. *Cumb. and West. Antiq. and Arch. Soc.* N.S. ii. 77-83.
- Battle of Stainmoor in legend and history. *Cumb. and West. Antiq. and Arch. Soc.* N.S. ii. 231-241.
- The ancient ironworks of Coniston lake. *Lanc. and Chesh. Hist. Soc.* N.S. xvii. 1-22.
- Notes on a crucifix mould from Portinscale; the Portinscale Celts; Gosforth holy-well; excavations at Foldsteads camp; Threlkeld British settlement; megalithic circle of Sunkenkirk, Swinside; and Chinese tombstone from Cargo. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd S. xix. 95-98.





- COMPTON (C. H.). The president and council of the North. *Brit. Arch. Assoc.* N.S. viii. 81-92.
- COOK (A. B.). The gong at Dodona. *Journ. Hell. Stud.* xxii. 5-28.
- COOK (STANLEY A.). An Arabic version of the Prologue to Ecclesiasticus. *Bibl. Arch. Soc.* xxiv. 173-184.
- A pre-massoretic Hebrew papyrus. *Bibl. Arch. Soc.* xxiv. 272.
- COOPER (REV. CANON J. H.). The vicars and parish of Cuckfield in the seventeenth century. *Sussex Arch. Coll.* xlv. 1-33.
- A religious census of Sussex in 1676. *Sussex Arch. Coll.* xlv. 142-148.
- COPE (E. E.). Index to Bradfield parish marriage register, 1559-1813. *Berks, Bucks and Oxon Arch. Journ.* viii. 88-92; 120.
- COSSINS (JETHRO A.). Architectural remains in Warwickshire earlier than the 13th century. *Birm. and Mid. Inst.* xxv. 21-38.
- COSTELLO (T. B.). Temple Jarlath, Tuam, co. Galway. *Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, 5th S. xii. 414-415.
- COWELL (REV. M. B.). Ash Bocking. *Suffolk Inst. Arch.* xi. 228-245.
- COWPER (H. SWAINSON). Notes on three bronze figures recently acquired on the coast of Asia Minor. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd S. xix. 16-17.
- Recent Roman finds at Waterhead, Windermere. *Cumb. and West. Antiq. and Arch. Soc.* N.S. ii. 31-37.
- COX (REV. DR. J. CHARLES). The Purgslove brass, Tideswell. *Mon. Brass Soc.* iv. 213-215.
- The chartulary of the abbey of Dale. *Derby Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* xxiv. 82-150.
- Early renaissance architecture in Derbyshire. *Derby Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* xxiv. 153-162.
- CRANAGE (REV. D. H. S.). Excavations at Wenlock priory. *Shropshire Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* 3rd S. ii. 407-408.
- CRAKE (W. V.). The correspondence of John Collier, five times mayor of Hastings, and his connexion with the Pelham family. *Sussex Arch. Coll.* xlv. 62-109.
- CREEKE (A. B.). Unpublished stycas of Ælfwald I. and Æthelred I. *Num. Chron.* 4th S. ii. 310-311.
- CRONIN (H. S.). First report of a journey in Pisidia. *Journ. Hell. Stud.* xxii. 94-125; 339-376.
- CROOKE (W.). The lifting of the bride. *Folklore*, xiii. 226-251.
- The collection of folklore. *Folklore*, xiii. 302-3.

- CROUCH (JOSEPH). Chipping Campden. *Birm. and Mid. Inst.* xxvii. 29-53.
- CRUM (W. E.). Eusebius and Coptic church histories. *Bibl. Arch. Soc.* xxiv. 68-84.
- A Scythian in Egypt. *Bibl. Arch. Soc.* xxiv. 233-234.
- A bilingual charm. *Bibl. Arch. Soc.* xxiv. 329-331.
- CUFFE (MAJOR O. W.). King John's badge, star and crescent. *Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, 5th S. xii. 74-76.
- CURREY (PERCY H.). The ancient font of Smalley church. *Derby Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* xxiv. 151-152.
- CURWEN (J. F.). Wharton hall, Westmorland. *Cumb. and West. Antiq. and Arch. Soc.* N.S. ii. 257-273.
- St. Cuthbert's church, Bewcastle. *Cumb. and West. Antiq. and Arch. Soc.* N.S. ii. 242-254.
- DALE (W.). Notes on the discovery of an Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Droxford, Hants. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd S. xix. 125-127.
- DALTON (O. M.). On some points in the history of inlaid jewellery. *Arch.* lviii. 237-274.
- DAMES (M. LONGWORTH). Balochi folklore. *Folklore*, xiii. 252-274.
- Some coins of the Mughal emperors. *Num. Chron.* 4th S. ii. 275-309.
- DANBY v. Sydenham ; a restoration chancery suit. *York's Arch. Soc.* xvii. 72-93.
- DANCEY (C. H.). The high cross at Gloucester. *Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.* xxiv. 293-307.
- The maces, swordbearer and swords of the city of Gloucester. *Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.* xxiv. 308-329.
- DANIEL (REV. PREBENDARY). The accounts of St. John's church, Glastonbury. *Somerset Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* xlviii. 11-21.
- DAVIES (REV. J. SILVESTER). The Tropenell cartulary. *Wilts Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* xxxii. 194-205.
- DAVIS (CECIL T.). Wandsworth churchwardens' accounts, 1558-1573. *Surrey Arch. Soc.* xvii. 135-175.
- Discoveries in Wandsworth and neighbourhood in 1902. *Surrey Arch. Soc.* xvii. 184.
- DAWKINS (PROF. W. BOYD). On the cairn and sepulchral cave at Gop, near Prestatyn. *Arch. Camb.* 6th S. ii. 161-181.
- On Bigbury camp and the Pilgrims' Way. *Arch. Inst.* lix. 211-218.

- DAWSON (CHARLES). Note on the Hastings corporation relics of coronations of the kings and queens of England. *Sussex Arch. Coll.* xlv. 110-113.
- DE HAMED (ROBERT). Middleton Hall, Warwickshire. *Birm. and Mid. Inst.* xxvii. 16-28.
- DEWICK (REV. E. S.). On an inventory of church goods belonging to the parish of St. Martin, Ludgate. *St. Paul's Eccles.* v. 117-128.
- DILLON (HENRY ARTHUR, VISCOUNT). Some family letters of Charles II. and James, Duke of York, addressed to their daughter and niece, the Countess of Litchfield. *Arch.* lviii. 153-188.
- Horse armour. *Arch. Inst.* lix. 97-92.
- The original summons to the coronation of William and Mary, and letters of dispensation from attending the same, addressed to the Earl and Countess of Litchfield. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd S. xix. 45-47.
- DITCHFIELD (REV. P. H.). Kendrick family. *Berks, Bucks and Oxon Arch. Journ.* viii. 31-32.
- History of Hungerford. *Berks, Bucks and Oxon Arch. Journ.* viii. 102-111.
- DOE (G. M.). Torrington, Devon: Torrington, Connecticut. *Dev. Assoc.* xxxiv. 575-577.
- DOHERTY (REV. W.). Derry Columbkille. *Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland* 5th S. xii. 257-260.
- DOUBLEDAY (WILLIAM). Shenstone and the Leasowes. *Birm. and Mid. Inst.* xxv. 1-11.
- DRINKWATER (REV. C. H.). Shrewsbury gild merchant and other rolls of the fourteenth century. *Shropshire Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* 3rd S. ii. 65-106.
- Unidentified places in Domesday. *Shropshire Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* 3rd S. ii. 158-160.
- DUCKWORTH (W. LAURENCE H.). Some anthropological results of the Skeat expedition to the Malay Peninsula. *Anthrop. Inst.* N.S. v. 142-152.
- Craniological notes on the aborigines of Tasmania. *Anthrop. Inst.* N.S. v. 177-181.
- DUNCAN (ALEX. G.). The long bridge of Bbleford. *Dev. Assoc.* xxxiv. 223-264.
- DYMOND (C. W.). Ancient village near Threlkeld. *Cumb. and West. Antiq. and Arch. Soc.* N.S. ii. 38-52.

- DYMOND (C. W.). Exploration of Sunken Kirk, Swinside, Cumberland.
Cumb. and West Antiq. and Arch. Soc. N.S. ii. 53-76.
- Excavations at Gt. Chesters (Æsica) in 1894-1897.
Arch. Æliana, xxiv. 19-64.
- EELES (F. C.). Note on a cist and urn found at Glasterberry, near Peterculter, Aberdeenshire. *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* xxxvi. 627-628.
- ELD (REV. F. J.). Polstead church. *Suffolk Inst. Arch.* xi. 220-224.
- ELLIS (JOHN W.). The mediæval founts of the hundreds of West Derby and Wirral. *Lanc. and Ches. Hist. Soc.* N.S. xvii. 59-80.
- ELLIS (W. PATTERSON). Churchwardens' accounts of the parish of St. Mary, Thame, 1442. *Berks, Bucks and Oxon Arch. Journ.* vii. 113-119; viii. 24-30, 50-59, 71-77.
- ELTON (JOHN). Origin of the mayoral allowance at Liverpool and Chester. *Lanc. and Ches. Hist. Soc.* N.S. xvii. 81-92.
- Liverpool lists of emigrants to America, 1697-1706. *Lanc. and Ches. Hist. Soc.* N.S. xvii. 179-188.
- ELWORTHY (F. T.). Nineteenth report of committee on verbal provincialisms of Devonshire. *Dev. Assoc.* xxxiv. 90-103.
- ENYS (J. D.), THURSTAN C. PETER and H. M. WHITLEY. Mural paintings in Cornish churches. *Roy. Inst. Cornwall*, xv. 136-160.
- ERSKINE-RISK (REV. J.). A forgotten episode in Devon county history. *Dev. Assoc.* xxxiv. 394-402.
- ESMONDE (SIR T. H. GRATTAN). Some further finds in North Wexford. *Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, 5th S. xii. 68-70.
- EVANS (SIR J.). Opening of a barrow at Broxbornebury, 1901. *East Herts. Arch. Soc.* ii. 6-10.
- Note on a gold coin of Addedomaros. *Num. Chron.* 4th S. ii. 11-19.
- The burning of bonds under Hadrian. *Num. Chron.* 4th S. ii. 88-91.
- The cross and pall on the arms of Ælfred the Great. *Num. Chron.* 4th S. ii. 202-207.
- On some rare or unpublished Roman coins. *Num. Chron.* 4th S. ii. 345-363.
- Note on a mould for Samian bowls found at Lezoux, Puy-de-Dôme. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd S. xix. 6-7.

- EVANS (SIR J.). Account of the opening of a barrow near Hoddesdon, Herts. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd S. xix. 7-12.
- EVELYN (JOHN). Notes on two drawings of Wotton house in 1640 by. *Surrey Arch. Soc.* xvii. 70-71.
- EVELYN-WHITE (REV. C. H.). On some recently discovered earth-works, the supposed site of a Roman encampment at Cottenham, Cambridgeshire. *Brit. Arch. Assoc.* N.S. viii. 93-102, 167-178.
- FAIRBANK (F. R.). Wotton church. *Surrey Arch. Soc.* xvii. 1-9.
- FALLOW (T. M.). Abstract of deeds in muniment room, Kirk-leatham hall, relating to the chantry of the B.V.M. in Chester le Street church. *Arch. Æliana*, xxiv. 124-125.
- FARRER (W.). Notes on a charter of Richard de Lucy [2 John]. *Cumb. and West. Antiq. and Arch. Soc.* N.S. ii. 329-334.
- The family of Middleton of Middleton, in Salford hundred. *Lanc. and Ches. Antiq. Soc.* xvii. 32-47.
- The barony of Grelley. *Lanc. and Ches. Hist. Soc.* N.S. xvii. 23-58.
- FERGUSON (C. J.). Carlisle cathedral. *Roy. Inst. Brit. Archit.* 3rd S. viii. 102-104.
- FFRENCH (CANON J. F. M.). Notes on three bone pins found at the bottom of the Ballinderry lake, in the county Westmeath. *Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, 5th S. xii. 153-157.
- FICKLING (W.). Kersey. *Suffolk Inst. Arch.* xi. 216-219.
- FISHWICK (LIEUT.-COL.). The distribution of surnames in Lancashire in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. *Lanc. and Ches. Hist. Soc.* N.S. xvii. 131-138.
- FITZGERALD (LORD WALTER). Carton. *Kildare Arch. Soc.* iv. 1-34.
- The inscription on the Eustace altar tomb at New Abbey, near Kilcullen Bridge. *Kildare Arch. Soc.* iv. 65.
- The erection of a church to St. Brigid at Kildare in A.D. 868. *Kildare Arch. Soc.* iv. 65.
- Fontstown, near Glassecaly, co. Kildare. *Kildare Arch. Soc.* iv. 66.
- The Dougan family in the county of Kildare at the commencement of the seventeenth century. *Kildare Arch. Soc.* iv. 67-70.
- Discovery of Ogham stone near Maynooth, co. Kildare. *Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, 5th S. xii. 267-268.
- FLEMING (JOHN). Note on a stone-built fort overlooking Borgadail

- Glen, near the Mull of Kintyre. *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* xxxvi. 611-613.
- FLETCHER (REV. W. G. D.). On wearing the bonnet in the royal presence. *Shropshire Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* 3rd S. ii. 151-156, 292.
- FLOWER (A. S.). Shropshire churches. *Roy. Inst. Brit. Archit.* 3rd S. viii. 102.
- — Old and new English architecture: a retrospect and a suggestion. *Roy. Inst. Brit. Archit.* 3rd S. viii. 417-431.
- FOAT (F. W. G.). Sematography of the Greek papyri. *Journ. Hell. Stud.* xxii. 135-173.
- FORSYTH (W. A.). Church of St. Bartholomew, Fingest, Bucks. *Bucks Arch. and Arch. Soc.* viii. 457-462.
- FOSTER (REV. A. J.). Tour through Buckinghamshire. *Berks, Bucks and Oxon Arch. Journ.* viii. 17-24, 42-50, 82-85, 113-117.
- FOWLER (CANON). The early history of Crayke. *Yorks Arch. Soc.* xvi. 459-461.
- Parish coffins. *Yorks Arch. Soc.* xvi. 467-468.
- Haliwerfolk. *Yorks Arch. Soc.* xvii. 127.
- FOX (GEORGE E.). The present state of the Roman station of Clausentum at Bitterne, near Southampton. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd S. xix. 56-59.
- FRYER (ALFRED C.). On fonts with representations of the Seven Sacraments. *Arch. Inst.* lix. 17-66.
- G. (H.). A unique naval reward: the Breton medal, 1794. *Num. Chron.* 4th S. ii. 311-312.
- GARDINER (ALAN H.). A monument of Antef V. from Coptos. *Bibl. Arch. Soc.* xxiv. 204-205.
- The word   in the inscription of  
and a note on the Milligen papyrus, i. 3-4. *Bibl. Arch. Soc.* xxiv. 349-354.
- GARDINER (REV. E. R.). Church plate of Berkshire. *Berks, Bucks and Oxon Arch. Journ.* viii. 117-119.
- GARSTANG (JOHN). The Ribchester temple. *Lanc. and Ches. Hist. Soc.* N.S. xvii. 208-216.
- GASQUET (VERY REV. F. A.). Some materials for a new edition of Polydore Virgil's history. *Roy. Hist. Soc.* N.S. xvi. 1-17.
- GASTER (M.). The letter of Toledo. *Folklore*, xiii. 115-134.
- GAYTHORPE (HARPER). Church bells in the archdeaconry of

- Furness. *Cumb. and West Antiq. and Arch. Soc.* N.S. ii. 282-306.
- GIBSON (J. P.). Mucklebank wall turret. *Arch. Æliana*, xxiv. 13-18.
- —Excavations at Gt. Chesters (Æsica) in 1894-1897. *Arch. Æliana*, xxiv. 19-64.
- GIFFARD (HARDINGE F.). Giffard's jump. *Dev. Assoc.* 648-703.
- GILMORE (J. E.). Manuscript portions of three Coptic lectionaries. *Bibl. Arch. Soc.* xxiv. 186-191.
- GIRDLESTONE (REV. CANON R. B.), and SIR H. H. HOWORTH. Notes on the comparative value of the two recensions of Ezra. *Bibl. Arch. Soc.* xxiv. 14-20.
- GLYNNE (SIR STEPHEN, BART.). Notes on the older churches in the four Welsh dioceses. *Arch. Camb.* 6th S. ii. 81-114.
- GODDARD (A. R.). The underground strong room at Richborough. *Brit. Arch. Assoc.* N.S. viii. 103-114, 208-214.
- GODDARD (REV. E. H.). An Elizabethan tazza belonging to the church of St. Michael, Southampton. *Arch. Inst.* lix. 326-327.
- GODDARD (E. H.). Opening of a barrow at Erlestoke. *Wilt's Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* xxxii. 224.
- GOLDSBOROUGH (ALBERT). Notes on Nathaniel Hickman. *Wilt's Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* xxxii. 347-348.
- GOMME (ALICE B.). London folk etymology. *Folklore*, xiii. 204.
- GOODRICH-FREER (A.). Folklore from the Hebrides. *Folklore*, xiii. 29-62.
- GOUGH (A. V.). The grandchildren of Richard Gough of Newton-on-the-Hill. *Shropshire Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* 3rd S. ii. 294-295.
- GOULD (J. CHALKLEY). Mam Tor, near Castleton. *Derby Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* xxiv. 27-31.
- —Siege of Colchester. *Essex Arch. Soc.* viii. 377.
- GOWLAND (WILLIAM) and PROF. J. W. JUDD. Recent excavations at Stonehenge: with a note on the nature and origin of the rock fragments found in the excavations. *Arch.* lviii. 37-118.
- GRAINGER (F.). The Holme Cultram chapels. *Cumb. and West. Antiq. and Arch. Soc.* N.S. ii. 335-347.
- GRANT (ANGUS). Notices of sepulchral slabs at Kilmore and Kilianan, Glenurquhart, Inverness-shire. *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* xxxvi. 665-668.
- GRANT (REV. PREBENDARY). Sir Edward Dyer. *Somerset Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* xlviii. 1-10.
- GRANVILLE (REV. R.). History of the church of Bideford and some of its rectors. *Dev. Assoc.* xxxiv. 201-222.

- GRAY (H. ST. G.). The Walter Collection in Taunton castle museum. *Somerset Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* xlviii. 24-78.
- Excavations at the Glastonbury lake village in July, 1902. *Somerset Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* xlviii. 102-121.
- GREG (T. T.). Grant of a market to Buntingford. *East Herts Arch. Soc.* ii. 1-5.
- GREEN (FRANCIS). The Wogans of Boulston. *Arch. Camb.* 6th S. ii. 241-251.
- GREENWELL (REV. CANON WILLIAM). On some rare forms of bronze weapons and implements. *Arch.* lviii. 1-16.
- GRENFELL (ALICE). The iconography of Bes, and of Phœnician Bes-hand Scarabs. *Bibl. Arch. Soc.* xxiv. 21-40.
- GRIFFITH (JOHN). Crug yr Avon, Glamorgan's lone sentry-box. *Arch. Camb.* 6th S. ii. 130-140.
- GRUEBER (H. A.). Some coins of Eadgar and Henry VI. *Num. Chron.* 4th S. ii. 364-371.
- GUILSFIELD, a history of the parish of. *Montgomeryshire Coll.* xxxii. 97-132.
- GUISEPPI (MONTAGUE S.). The manor of Edwood and the ironworks three in 1575. *Surrey Arch. Soc.* xvii. 28-40.
- GURDON (SIR W. BRAMPTON). Obituary notice of the late Lord John Hervey. *Suffolk Inst. Arch.* xi. 149-151.
- HADDON (DR. A. C.). Fire-walking in Southern India. *Folklore*, xiii. 89-90.
- HADLEIGH. *Suffolk Arch. Inst.* xi. 209-215.
- HALE (WILLIAM). Mummers and minstrels. *Birm. and Mid. Inst.* xxviii. 37-50.
- HALL (HAMILTON). Pedigree of Hoo. *Sussex Arch. Coll.* xlv. 186-197.
- HALLIDAY (GEORGE E.). Old Cardiff. *Arch. Camb.* 6th S. ii. 68-70.
- Llandenny parish church, Monmouthshire. *Arch. Camb.* 6th S. ii. 70-75.
- Llanhillith church, Monmouth. *Arch. Camb.* 6th S. ii. 156-158.
- Notes on Llandaff parish. *Arch. Camb.* 6th S. ii. 230-238.
- Discovery at Llanwonno church. *Arch. Camb.* 6th S. ii. 307-308.
- HAMILTON (S. G.). Note on Hidcote house. *Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.* xxiv. 156-158.

- HANCOX (EDWARD R. H.). Neolithic Suffolk. *Suffolk Inst. Arch.* xi. 200-204.
- HARDING (JOHN). An episode of the great rebellion. *Wilts Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* xxxii. 186-189.
- HARRIS, (MARY DORMER). The MS. records of Coventry. *Birm. and Mid. Inst.* xxv. 46-50.
- HARRISON (WILLIAM). The Manchester sanctuary. *Lanc. and Ches. Antiq. Soc.* xvii. 64-74.
- HARRISON (W. JEROME). A bibliography of the great stone monuments of Wiltshire, Stonehenge and Avebury. *Wilts Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* xxxii. 1-169.
- HARTLAND (E. SIDNEY). The voice of the Stone of Destiny : an inquiry into the choice of kings by augury. *Folklore*, xiv. 28-60.
- HASLUCK (F. W.). An inscribed basin from Cyzicus. *Journ. Hell. Stud.* xxii. 126-134.
- HAVERFIELD (F.). Two hoards of Roman coins found in Somersetshire in 1666. *Arch. Inst.* lix. 342-345.
- Report of the Cumberland excavation committee, 1901. *Cumb. and West Antiq. and Arch. Soc.* N.S. ii. 384-392.
- Two hoards of Roman coins (Sussex and Norfolk). *Num. Chron.* 4th S. ii. 184-186.
- Find of Roman silver coins near Caistor, Norfolk. *Num. Chron.* 4th S. ii. 186-188.
- HEADLAM (W.). Greek lyric metre. *Journ. Hell. Stud.* xxii. 209-227.
- HEATHCOTE (T. G. J.). Rowlesse thing ; Rowless tenement, Rowley. *Wilts Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* xxxii. 225-227.
- HERVEY (LORD JOHN). Extent of Hadleigh manor. *Suffolk Inst. Arch.* xi. 152-172.
- HETHERWICK (REV. ALEXANDER). Some animistic beliefs among the Yaos of British Central Africa. *Anthrop. Inst.* N.S. v. 89-95.
- HEWETT (H. J.). Discoveries at Long Wittenham. *Berks, Bucks and Oxon Arch. Journ.* viii. 30.
- HICK (E. M.). Bath and Malmesbury. *Roy. Inst. Brit. Archit.* 3rd S. viii. 488-492.
- HILL (G. F.). Timotheus Refatus of Mantua and the medallist. T. R. *Num. Chron.* 4th S. ii. 55-61.
- HIPKINS (REV. F. C.). The state of Repton manor from the reign

- of Henry I. to that of Henry V. *Derby Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* xxiv. 68-77.
- HIRST (G. M.). The cults of Olbia. *Journ. Hell. Stud.* xxii. 241-267.
- HOBSON (R. L.). Mediæval pottery found in England. *Arch. Inst.* lix. 1-16.
- HODGKIN (THOMAS). Excavations in the line of the Roman wall in Northumberland. *Arch. Æliana*, xxiv. 1-12.
- HODGSON (J. C.). The Brumell collection of charters. *Arch. Æliana*, xxiv. 115-123.
- Proofs of age of heirs to estates in Northumberland. *Arch. Æliana*, xxiv. 126-127.
- HODGSON (T. H.). The military road in Cumberland. *Cumb. and West Antiq. and Arch. Soc.* N.S. ii. 274-281.
- HOGARTH (D. G.). The Zakro sealings. *Journ. Hell. Stud.* xxii. 76-93.
- Bronze age vases from Zakro. *Journ. Hell. Stud.* xxii. 333-338.
- HOLLAND (T. H.). The Kanets of Kulu and Lahoul, Punjab: a study in contact-metamorphism. *Anthrop. Inst.* N.S. v. 96-123.
- HONE (NATHANIEL). Oxfordshire church goods. *Berks, Bucks and Oxon Arch. Journ.* viii. 86-87.
- HOPE (W. H. ST. JOHN). The London charterhouse and its old water supply. *Arch.* lviii. 293-312.
- Notes on a third great seal of King Stephen. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd S. xix. 60-63.
- Notes on the first great seal of King Henry III. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd S. xix. 63-65.
- HOPE (W. H. ST. JOHN) and CLEMENT REID. Excavations on the site of the Roman city at Silchester, Hants, in 1901; with a note on the plant remains of Roman Silchester. *Arch.* lviii. 17-36.
- HOPKINSON (J. H.) AND J. Ff. BAKER-PENOYRE. New evidence of the Melian amphoræ. *Journ. Hell. Stud.* xxii. 46-75.
- HOWLEY (M. F.). Badge of the Roy. Soc. of Antiquaries of Ireland. *Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, 5th S. xii. 415.
- HOWORTH (SIR H. H.). Some unconventional views on the text of the Bible. *Bibl. Arch. Soc.* xxiv. 147-172, 332-340.
- A note on some coins generally attributed to Mazaïos the satrap of Cilicia and Syria. *Num. Chron.* 4th S. ii. 81-87.
- HUDSON (REV. H. A.). An account of the Manchester cathedral bells. *Lanc. and Ches. Antiq. Soc.* xvii. 75-86.

- HUDSON (REV. WILLIAM). On a sixteenth century ratebook of the corporation of Pevensey. *Sussex Arch. Coll.* xlv. 149-179.
- HUGHES (HAROLD). Church of St. Michael, Llanfihangel-Glynmyfyr, Denbighshire. *Arch. Camb.* 6th S. ii. 132-135.
- Find of bronze implements in Wales. *Arch. Camb.* 6th S. ii. 240.
- The architectural history of the cathedral church of St. Deiniol, Bangor. *Arch. Camb.* 6th S. ii. 261-276.
- HUGHES (PROF. T. M'KENNY). The early potters' art in Britain. *Arch. Inst.* lix. 219-237.
- HUNT (J. A.). Rawdon house, Hoddesdon. *East Herts Arch. Soc.* ii. 11-17.
- HUTCHESON (ALEXANDER). Notice of the exploration of a cairn of the bronze age at Greenhill in the parish of Balmerino, Fifeshire. *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* xxxvi. 635-653.
- IRVINE (W. F.). Notes on the old halls of Wirral. *Lanc. and Ches. Hist. Soc.* N.S. xvii. 93-130.
- IRVINE (W. F.) and F. C. BEAZLEY. Notes on the parish of Woodchurch. *Lanc. and Ches. Hist. Soc.* N.S. xvii. 139-178.
- JOHNS (REV. C. H. W.). The chronology of Āšurbānīpal's reign. *Bibl. Arch. Soc.* xxiv. 235-241.
- Some Assyrian letters. *Bibl. Arch. Soc.* xxiv. 293-299.
- JOHNSTON (C. E.). Gilston church. *East Herts Arch. Soc.* ii. 57-60.
- JOHNSTON (J. M. C.). Gold coins of the Muwahhids of Morocco. *Num. Chron.* 4th S. ii. 77-80.
- JOHNSTON (PHILIP M.). Some further notes on the restoration of Warlingham church in 1893-4. *Surrey Arch. Soc.* xvii. 122-134.
- Barton farm, Pagham. *Sussex Arch. Coll.* xlv. 218.
- JOHNSTON (S. P.) and COL. T. A. LUNHAM. MS. description of the city and county of Cork, 1685, by Sir R. Cox. *Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, 5th S. xii. 353-376.
- JOHNSTONE (SIR H. B.). Notes on the customs of the tribes occupying the Mombasa sub-district, British East Africa. *Anthrop. Inst.* N.S. v. 263-272.
- KAYE (W. J., JUNR.). Notes on an inscription in Scandinavian runes found near Harrogate. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd S. xix. 55-56.

- KENDRICK (GREENE). Kendrick family. *Berks, Bucks and Oxon Arch. Journ.* vii. 95, 101-112; viii. 60-64.
- KENNEDY (LOUISE). Lame gods. *Folklore*, xiii. 88-89.
- KENYON (R. LLOYD). Township of Shelveock. *Shropshire Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* 3rd S. ii. 107-116.
- Township of Wikey. *Shropshire Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* 3rd S. ii. 117-122.
- Township of Shotatton. *Shropshire Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* 3rd S. ii. 123-130.
- Township of Eardiston. *Shropshire Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* 3rd S. ii. 131-142.
- Local coins and tokens lately acquired by the Shrewsbury Museum. *Shropshire Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* 3rd S. ii. 157-158.
- Township of Felton. *Shropshire Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* 3rd S. ii. 359-380.
- Township of Haughton. *Shropshire Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* 3rd S. ii. 381-386.
- Township of Rednal. *Shropshire Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* 3rd S. ii. 387-396.
- Township of Sutton. *Shropshire Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* 3rd S. ii. 397-402.
- Township of Tedsmere. *Shropshire Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* 3rd S. ii. 403-406.
- KERSHAW (S. W.). Canterbury's ancient coinage. *Brit. Arch. Assoc.* N.S. viii. 161-166.
- KEYSER (C. E.). Notes on some wall-paintings lately discovered at Rothampstead manor, Herts. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd S. xix., 51-55.
- KIRBY (T. F.). The charters of the manor of Ropley, Hants. *Arch.* lviii. 227-236.
- KIRKE (HENRY). A Derbyshire brawl in the 15th century. *Derby Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* xxiv. 78-81.
- KIRKLEES CHARTERS. *Yorks Arch. Soc.* xvi. 462-466.
- KITCHIN (THE VERY REV. G. W.). The statutes of Durham cathedral. *Brit. Arch. Assoc.* N.S. viii. 39-48.
- KNOWLES (W. H.). The premonstratensian abbey of St. Mary, Blanchland, Northumberland. *Arch. Inst.* lix. 328-341.
- KNOX (H. T.). Occupation of Connaught by the Anglo-Normans after A.D. 1237. *Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, 5th S. xii. 132-138, 393-406.

- KNOX (H. T.). The two Saints Benen. *Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, 5th S. xii. 187-188.
- Bullauns, forming two of St. Patrick's wells in Con-naught. *Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, 5th S. xii. 188-190.
- Crannogs in Lough Carra, co. Mayo. *Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, 5th S. xii. 407.
- KNUBLEY (REV. E. P.). The rise and fall of Steeple Ashton as a market town. *Wilts Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* xxxii. 180-185.
- LANCIANI (COMM. RODOLFO). Architectural results of the latest excavations in the forum of Rome. *Roy. Inst. Brit. Archit.* 3rd S. viii. 25-38.
- LANG (ANDREW). Tree-worship. *Folklore*, xiii. 90-91.
- The sources of some ballads in the Border minstrelsy. *Folklore*, xiii. 191-197.
- The origin of totem names and beliefs. *Folklore*, xiii. 347-393.
- Australian marriage systems. *Folklore*, xiii. 398-402.
- LANG (ANDREW) and ALFRED H. HAGGARD. The Fijian fire-walk. *Folklore*, xiv. 87-89.
- LANGRISHE (R.). Origin of the Grace family of Courtsdown, co. Kilkenny. *Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, 5th S. xii. 64-67.
- LATIMER (JOHN). The hospital of St. John, Bristol. *Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.* xxiv. 172-178.
- LATIMER (REV. W. T.). Ulster emigration to America. *Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, 5th S. xii. 385-392.
- LAVER (HENRY). Oliver's Thicks rampart: earthwork near Colchester. *Essex Arch. Soc.* viii. 369-372.
- LAWRENCE (L. A.). A find of silver coins of Edward IV.-Henry VIII. *Num. Chron.* 4th S. ii. 34-54.
- LEADAM (I. S.). An unknown conspiracy against King Henry VII. *Roy. Hist. Soc.* N.S. xvi. 133-158.
- LEADMAN (ALEX. D. H.). St. Hilda. *Yorks Arch. Soc.* xvii. 33-49.
- LEGA-WEEKES (ETHEL). Neighbours of North Wyke: South Tawton. *Devon Assoc.* xxxiv. 578-647.
- LEGG (LEOPOLD G. W.). On the right of the Archbishop of York to crown the queen-consort. *St. Paul's Eccles. Soc.* v. 77-84.
- LEGGE (F.). The history of the transliteration of Egyptian. *Bibl. Arch. Soc.* xxiv. 273-282.
- LEGGE (W. HENEAGE). Ancient stones found in Ringmer. *Sussex Arch. Coll.* xlv. 34-39.

- LETHBRIDGE (SIR ROGER). Biddeford and Okehampton railway. *Devon Assoc.* xxxiv. 168-200.
- LETT (H. W.). Burialcist near Dromore, co. Down. *Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, 5th S. xii. 409.
- LEWIS (J. W.). Stanstead Abbots. *East Herts. Arch. Soc.* ii. 27-31.
- LIDBETTER (R. M.). Pre-Norman shaft recently found at Great Clifton church. *Cumb. and West. Antiq. and Arch. Soc.* N.S. ii. 108-112.
- LINGELBACH (W. E.). The internal organization of the merchant adventurers of England. *Roy. Hist. Soc.* N.S. xvi. 19-67.
- LITTLE (JAMES). Gold ring found at Maryport. *Cumb. and West. Antiq. and Arch. Soc.* N.S. ii. 113-114.
- LLOYD (J. M. E.). Wanten, Wanlyn or Wanton dyke in the parish of Kerry, with some remarks on upper and lower short ditches. *Montgomeryshire Coll.* xxxii. 301-326.
- LLOYD (MISS ELEANOR). Weybridge parish registers. *Surrey Arch. Soc.* xvii. 41-69.
- LOMAS (MRS. S. C.). The state papers of the early Stuarts and the interregnum. *Roy. Hist. Soc.* N.S. xvi. 97-132.
- LOVETT (E.). The modern commercial aspect of an ancient superstition. *Folklore*, xiii. 340-347.
- LOVETT (E.), and E. W. CLARKE. The vessel cup. *Folklore*, xiii. 94-96.
- LYNCH (P. J.). Some antiquities around St. Finan's bay, co. Kerry. *Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, 5th S. xii. 42-63.
- Antiquities round Ballinskelligs bay, co. Kerry. *Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, 5th S. xii. 321-352.
- MACDONALD (GEORGE). The coinage of Tigranes I. *Num. Chron.* 4th S. ii. 189-201.
- Note on a hoard of coins of the Edwards found at Kinghornie, Stonehaven. *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* xxxvi. 668-670.
- MACDONALD (W. RAE). The heraldry in some of the old churchyards, between Tain and Inverness. *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* xxxvi. 688-732.
- M'DONALD (REV. ALLAN). Folklore from the Hebrides: a disclaimer. *Folklore*, xiv. 87.
- M'KEEFERY (REV. J.). The Irish gold ornaments. *Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, 5th S. xii. 266-267.
- Shane Crossagh, the county Derry rapparee. *Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, 5th S. xii. 232-238.

- MACRAY (W. D.). Kiltewanan, co. Roscommon. *Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, 5th S. xii. 194, 408.
- MALDEN (HENRY E.). Holmbury Hill and the neighbourhood. *Surrey Arch. Soc.* xvii. 72-76.
- MALLWYD parochial registers. *Montgomeryshire Coll.* xxxii. 133-150.
- MANN (LUDOVIC M.). Note on the finding of an urn, jet necklace, stone-axe, and other associated objects in Wigtownshire. *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* xxxvi. 584-589.
- MARKHAM (C. A.). Report on the Queen's Cross and St. Peter's church, Northampton. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd S. xix. 69-76.
- MARSDEN (R. G.). The High Court of Admiralty in relation to national history, commerce, and the colonization of America, A.D. 1550-1650. *Roy. Hist. Soc.* N. S. xvi. 69-96.
- MAURICE (JULES). Classification chronologique des émissions monétaires de l'atelier d'Alexandrie pendant la période Constantiniennne. *Num. Chron.* 4th S. ii. 92-147.
- MEADE-WALDO (MRS.). Tissington well-dressing. *Derby Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* xxiv. 1-4.
- MILNE (F. A.). London folk-etymology. *Folklore*, xiii. 203-204.
- MITCHELL SIR ARTHUR. The prehistory of the Scottish area; fifty years' work of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* xxxvi. 11-65.
- MONEY (W.). History of Littlecote. *Berks, Bucks and Oxon. Arch. Journ.* viii. 77-81.
- MOORE (CANON COURTENAY). Antiquities at Geashill castle, King's Co. *Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, 5th S. xii. 410-411.
- MORRIS (ELIZABETH F.). Hunsdon Church. *East Herts Arch. Soc.* ii. 46-56.
- MORRIS (J.). The provosts and bailiffs of Shrewsbury. *Shropshire Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* 3rd S. ii. 269-286.
- MUNRO (J. A. R.). Some observations on the Persian wars. *Journ. Hell. Stud.* xxii. 294-332.
- MUNRO (ROBERT, M.D.). Notes on a set of five jet buttons found on a hill in Forfarshire. *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* xxxvi. 464-487.
- On the prehistoric horses of Europe and their supposed domestication in paleolithic times. *Arch. Inst.* lix. 109-143.
- MURRAY (DR. A. S.). A new stele from Athens. *Journ. Hell. Stud.* xxii. 1-4.

- MURRAY (DR. A. S.). Roman art. *Roy. Inst. Brit. Arch.* 3rd S. viii. 114-115.
- MURRAY (PATRICK). Note on a single-piece wooden vessel found in a peat moss on Torr Righ Hill, Shiskin, Arran. *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* xxxvi. 582-583.
- MYRES (JOHN L.). Notes on the history of the Kabyle pottery. *Anthrop. Inst. N.S.* v. 248-262.
- NASH (W. L.). Ancient Egyptian draughts-boards and draughtsmen. *Bibl. Arch. Soc.* xxiv. 341-348.
- Two heads of small statues found at the temple of Mut, at Karnak. *Bibl. Arch. Soc.* xxiv. 51.
- NAVILLE (PROF. EDOUARD). The book of the dead. *Bibl. Arch. Soc.* xxiv. 135-143, 195-204, 268-271, 313-316.
- NEVILL (RALPH). The place-name Guildhall. *Surrey Arch. Soc.* xvii. 176-179.
- The pilgrim's way. *Surrey Arch. Soc.* xvii. 179-180.
- NEWBERRY (P. E.). Extracts from my note-books. *Bibl. Arch. Soc.* xxiv. 244-252.
- The parentage of Queen Aahhetep. *Bibl. Arch. Soc.* xxiv. 285-289.
- NICHOLSON (J.). Harvest bonfires in the East Riding. *Folklore* xiv. 92-94.
- NORMAN (PHILIP). On the destroyed church of St. Michael, Wood Street, in the city of London, with some notes on the church of St. Michael, Basshishaw. *Arch.* lviii. 189-216.
- Exchequer annuity tallies. *Arch. Inst.* lix. 288-305.
- On the topographical aspects of a number of terracotta architectural fragments of the early part of the sixteenth century, found together with fragments of Roman and mediæval pottery in the churchyard of St. George the Martyr, Southwark, and exhibited by the London County Council. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd S. xix. 99-100.
- St. Olave's, Hart Street. *St. Paul's Eccles. Soc.* v. 93-98.
- All Hallow's, Barking. *St. Paul's Eccles. Soc.* v. 99-106.
- NUTT (ALFRED). History, tradition and historic myth. *Folklore*, xiii. 84-87.
- O. (R.). Seal for the rural deanery of Pool. *Montgomeryshire Coll.* xxxii. 331-332.

- OESTERLEY (REV. W. O. E.). The sacrifice of Isaac. *Bibl. Arch. Soc.* xxiv. 253-260.
- OFFORD (JOSEPH). The antiquity of the four-wheeled chariot. *Bibl. Arch. Soc.* xxiv. 130-131.
- Semitic analogies for Old Testament names. *Bibl. Arch. Soc.* xxiv. 242-243.
- Inscriptions relating to the Jewish war of Vespasian and Titus. *Bibl. Arch. Soc.* xxiv. 325-328.
- and E. J. PILCHER. Some Punic analogues. *Bibl. Arch. Soc.* xxiv. 283-284.
- OLIVER (ANDREW). Notes on the Flemish brasses in England. *Brit. Arch. Assoc.* N.S. viii. 195-208.
- O'MEARA (REV. C. P.). Notes on Newcastle-Lyons. *Kildare Arch. Soc.* iv. 63-64.
- OMURETHI. The white castle of Athy and its sculptured stones. *Kildare Arch. Soc.* iv. 47-62.
- ORDISH (T. FAIRMAN). The mumming-play and other vestiges of folk-drama in the British Isles. *Folklore*, xiii. 296-297.
- O'REILLY (P. J.). Notes on the coronation stone at Westminster and the Lia Fail at Tara. *Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, 5th S. xii. 77-92.
- Tobernea holy well, Blackrock, co. Dublin. *Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, 5th S. xii. 178-186.
- Taney and its patron. *Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, 5th S. xii. 377-384.
- OSBORNE (F. B.). Grammar school, Campden. *Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.* xxiv. 251-261.
- PAGE (WILLIAM). The St. Albans School of Painting, mural and miniature: mural painting. *Arch.* lviii. 275-292.
- PALMER (ALFRED N.). The adventures of a Denbighshire gentleman of the seventeenth century in the East Indies. *Arch. Camb.* 6th S. ii. 277-286.
- Eunant hall. *Arch. Camb.* 6th S. ii. 306-307.
- PARKER (C. A.). Early sculptured stones at Gosforth, Ponsonby, St. Bridget's, Haile, and Egremont. *Cumb. and West. Antiq. and Arch. Soc.* N.S. ii. 84-98.
- Bells at Gosforth, Irton and Waberthwaite. *Cumb. and West. Antiq. and Arch. Soc.* N.S. ii. 99-107.
- PARKER (F. H. M.). Marriage of Sir Hugh de Louthre and Margaret de Whale. *Cumb. and West. Antiq. and Arch. Soc.* N.S. ii. 151-154.

- PARKER (JOHN). Delafield's MS. notes on Fingest. *Bucks Archit. and Arch. Soc.* viii. 463-475.
- PATCHING (JOHN). Sir Thomas Bowyer, Bart., M.P. for Bramber, and his family. *Sussex Arch. Coll.* xlv. 209-211.
- PATTERSON (W. H.). The Cronebane halfpenny tokens. *Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, 5th S. xii. 261-263.
- PAYNE (E. J.). Tring, Wing and Ivinghoe. *Bucks Archit. and Arch. Soc.* viii. 435-445.
- PEACOCK (EDWARD). Eggs in witchcraft. *Folklore*, xiii. 431.
- PEACOCK (MABEL). The calenig, or gift. *Folklore*, xiii. 202-203.
- St. Mark's Eve (April 24). *Folklore*, xiv. 94.
- PEACOCK (MABEL) and C. S. BURNE. Fifth of November customs. *Folklore*, xiv. 89-91.
- PEACOCK (MABEL) and FRANK KIDSON. Jingle sung at Castleton, *Folklore*, xiii. 91-92.
- PEARMAN (REV. A. J.). Rectors of Merstham. *Surrey Arch. Soc.* xvii. 10-27.
- PEARSON (FRANK S.). The manor and castle of Weoley. *Birm. and Mid. Inst.* xxviii. 51-67.
- PEARSON (HOWARD S.). Birmingham springs and wells. *Birm. and Mid. Inst.* xxvii. 55-62.
- PEERS (C. R.). The Benedictine nunnery of Little Marlow. *Arch. Inst.* lix. 307-325; *Bucks Archit. and Arch. Soc.* viii. 419-434.
- PETER (O. B.). The ancient earth-fenced town and village sites of Cornwall. *Roy. Inst. Cornwall*, xv. 107-119.
- PETRIE (PROF. W. M. FLINDERS). Notes on the nineteenth dynasty. *Bibl. Arch.* xxiv. 317-319.
- The sources and growth of architecture in Egypt. *Roy. Inst. Brit. Archit.* 3rd S. viii. 341-352.
- Foundation deposit inscription from Alzdos. *Journ. Hell. Stud.* xxii. 377.
- PHILLIPS (REV. J.). The oldest parish registers in Pembrokeshire. *Arch. Camb.* 6th S. ii. 115-127.
- PHILLIPS (W.). The capture of Lord Thomas Grey in Shropshire. *Shropshire Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* 3rd S. ii. 143-150.
- Fees for knighthood in 1642. *Shropshire Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* 3rd S. ii. 160-161.
- Will of James Janyns, clerk, of Moreton Corbet, A.D. 1539. *Shropshire Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* 3rd S. ii. 295-296.
- The will of Henry Bishop, vicar of Moreton Corbet,

- A.D. 1539. *Shropshire Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* 3rd S. ii. 409-412.
- PHILLIPS (W.) and H. R. H. SOUTHAM. Castle Tump, near Tenbury. *Shropshire Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* 3rd S. ii. 162-163.
- Some recently discovered remains on the site of Uriconium. *Shropshire Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* 3rd S. ii. 163-164.
- PILCHER (E. J.). Ana-pani-Ili, illustrated from the Hebrew. *Bibl. Arch. Soc.* xxiv. 185.
- PINCHES (THEOPHILUS G.). Cylinder-seals in the possession of J. Offord, Esq. *Bibl. Arch. Soc.* xxiv. 87-94.
- Hammurabi's code of laws: "The lament of the daughter of sin." *Bibl. Arch. Soc.* xxiv. 301-308.
- and F. C. BURKITT. Greek transcriptions of Babylonian tablets. *Bibl. Arch. Soc.* xxiv. 108-119, 143-145.
- PINCKNEY (A. B.). Worcester cathedral. *Roy. Inst. Brit. Archit.* 3rd S. viii. 297-303.
- PLEYTE (DR. W.). Dwelling houses in Egypt. *Bibl. Arch. Soc.* xxiv. 146.
- POLLARD (H. P.). St. Bartholomew's, Layston. *East Herts Arch. Soc.* ii. 64-67.
- PONTING (C. E.). Steeple Ashton, Semington and Whaddon churches. *Wilts Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* xxxii. 206-219.
- POPPLETON (J. EYRE). Notes on the bells of the ancient churches of the West Riding of Yorkshire. *Yorks Arch. Soc.* xvii. 1-32.
- POTTER (W. F.). Etymology of Walworth. *Surrey Arch. Soc.* xvii. 183.
- PRÆTORIUS (C. J.). A small excavation in a field belonging to a farm called Hên Shop, situated at Llanfaethlu, in Anglesey. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd S. xix. 48-50.
- PRICE (F. G. HILTON). Some notes on the signs of pawnbrokers in London in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. *Arch. Inst.* lix. 160-200.
- PRITCHARD (JOHN E.). Bristol tokens of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. *Num. Chron.* 4th S. ii. 385-387.
- Bristol archæological notes for 1901. *Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.* xxiv. 274-282.
- PRITCHETT (J. P.). Recent discoveries in the chapel of Raby Castle. *Arch. Æliana*, xxiv. 65-68.
- PRYCE (THOMAS). History of the parish of Landysilio. *Montgomeryshire Coll.* xxxii. 33-64, 227-294.

- PRYCE, (Newton Hall) correspondence. etc. *Montgomeryshire Coll.* xxxii. 65-96.
- RANDALL-McIVER (D.). On a rare fabric of Kabyle Pottery. *Anthrop Inst.* N.S. v. 245-247.
- RAWNSLEY (REV. H. D.). Notes on a number of stone implements lately found at Portinscale, near Derwentwater. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd S. xix. 37-40.
- RAVEN (REV. CANON). Notes on some Nottinghamshire bells. *Arch. Inst.* lix. 93-99.
- READ (CHARLES H.). On a Saracenic goblet of enamelled glass of mediæval date. *Arch.* lviii. 217-226.
- Notes on a hoard of bronze implements found at Guilsfield, Montgomeryshire, exhibited by the Right Hon. the Earl of Powis; a hoard of like implements from Bromley-by-Bow: and a hoard of bronze implements found at Broadward Herefordshire. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd S. xix. 13-16.
- READ (F. W.) and A. C. BRYANT. A mythological text from Memphis. *Bibl. Arch. Soc.* xxiv. 206-216.
- REDSTONE (VINCENT B.). Social condition of England during the Wars of the Roses. *Roy. Hist. Soc.* N.S. xvi. 159-200.
- Nomina villarum, co. Suffolk, 1316. *Suffolk Inst. Arch.* xi. 173-199.
- Tudenham St. Martin. *Suffolk Inst. Arch.* xi. 246-251.
- Records of the Sudbury archdeaconry. *Suffolk Inst. Arch.* xi. 252-266.
- REICHEL (REV. O. J.). Extracts from a Devonshire lady's notes of travel in France in eighteenth century. *Devon Assoc.* xxxiv. 265-275.
- Fees of the Bishop of Exeter in Testa de Nevill. *Devon Assoc.* xxxiv. 566-574.
- Devonshire Domesday: Domesday identifications. *Devon Assoc.* xxxiv. 715-731.
- REID (ALAN). "The King's Cellar" at Limekilns, Dunfermline. *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* xxxvi. 658-665.
- REINACH (THÉODORE). Some Pontic eras. *Num. Chron.* 4th S. ii, 1-10, 184.
- RHYS (PROF.). Ogam-inscribed stones of the Royal Irish Academy and of Trinity College, Dublin. *Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland.* 5th S. xii. 1-41.
- RIBCHESTER, List of Roman remains from. *Lanc. and Ches. Hist. Soc.* N.S. xvii. 189-208.

- RICHARDS (H. C.). John Wesley in London churches. *St. Paul's Eccles. Soc.* N.S. v. 85-92.
- RICHARDSON (DR. JAS. T.), and JAS. S. RICHARDSON. Prehistoric remains near Gullane. *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* xxxvi. 654-658.
- RICCI (SEYMOUR DE). The præfects of Egypt. *Bibl. Arch. Soc.* xxiv. 56-67, 97-107.
- RICE (R. GARRAWAY). The household goods, etc., of Sir John Gage of West Firle, co. Sussex, K.G., 1556. *Sussex Arch. Coll.* xlv. 114-127.
- RIVERS (W. H. R.). The sister's son in Samoa. *Folklore*, xiii. 199-201.
- ROBINSON (SIR T. CHARLES). On a gold and enamelled jewel in the form of a book with silver leaves. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd S. xix. 76-77.
- ROEDER (C.). Recent Roman discoveries in Deansgate and on Hunt's Bank, and Roman Manchester re-studied (1897-1900). *Lanc. and Ches. Antiq. Soc.* xvii. 87-212.
- ROSCOE (REV. JOHN). Further notes on the manners and customs of the Baganda. *Anthrop. Inst.* N.S. v. 25-80.
- ROSE (H. A.). Unlucky children, *Folklore*, xiii. 63-68, 197-198.
 ——— Yew, *Folklore*, xiii. 201.
- ROSS (THOMAS). Account of the excavations of the Roman station at Inchtuthil, Perthshire: description of the plans. *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* xxxvi. 203-236.
- — Notes on sculptured stones with chariots in the neighbourhood of Auchterarder, and in Perth Museum, and of a sculptured monument recently found near Camelon, and now in the National Museum. *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* xxxvi. 597-610.
- ROTHERAM (E. C.). On stone implements found in Meath. *Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, 5th ser. xii. 139-152.
- ROUND (J. H.). Castle guard. *Arch. Inst.* lix. 144-159.
 ——— The castles of the Conquest. *Arch.* lviii. 313-340.
 — — Descent of Thorington. *Essex Arch. Soc.* viii. 373-374.
 — — Church and glebe of Willingale Doe. *Essex Arch. Soc.* viii. 375-376.
- ROWE (J. BROOKING). Eleventh report of committee on Devonshire records. *Dev. Assoc.* xxxiv. 147-159.
- RUSTAFJAELL (R. DE). Cyzicus. *Journ. Hell. Stud.* xxii. 174-189.
- ST. BURYAN college temp. Dean Robt. Knollys, 1473-1485, register of. *Roy. Inst. Cornwall*, xv. 86-96.

- SANDERSON (A. P.). St. Mary's church, Aspenden. *East Herts Arch. Soc.* ii. 61-63.
- SANDERSON (H. K. St. J.). Note on the brasses in St. Paul's church, Bedford. *Mon. Brass Soc.* iv. 212.
- Notes to Buckinghamshire brasses. *Mon. Brass Soc.* iv. 246-249.
- SANDS (HAROLD). Sutton Valence castle. *Arch. Cant.* xxv. 198-206.
- SAVORY (E.). Episcopal residences of the bishops of Salisbury. *Berks, Bucks and Oxon Arch. Journ.* viii. 123-124.
- SAVCE (PROF. A. H.). The Ionians in the Tel el-Amarna tablets. *Bibl. Arch. Soc.* xxiv. 10-13.
- Notes from Egypt. *Bibl. Arch. Soc.* xxiv. 86.
- The Greeks in Babylonia; Græco-cuneiform texts. *Bibl. Arch. Soc.* xxiv. 120-125.
- SEARLE (W. G.). Some unpublished seventeenth century tokens. *Num. Chron.* 4th S. ii. 378-384.
- SELIGMANN (C. G.). Note on the preparation and use of the Kenyah dart-poison, Ipoh. *Anthrop. Inst.* N.S. v. 239-244.
- SHEPHERD (E. B. S.). The church of the friars minors in London. *Arch. Inst.* lix. 238-287.
- SHERLOCK (REV. CANON). Further notes on the history and antiquities of the parish of Clave. *Kildare Arch. Soc.* iv. 35-46.
- SHROPSHIRE WILLS at Somerset house, London, from 1641-1660. list of. *Shropshire Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* 3rd S. ii. 255-267.
- SHROPSHIRE WILLS at Lambeth palace. *Shropshire Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* 3rd S. ii. 268.
- SITWELL (SIR GEORGE, BART.). Notes on an early edition of Clenard's *Institutiones in Græcam linguam*. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd S. xix. 78.
- SKAIFE (ROBERT H.). Testamentum Willelmi de Ledes filii et heredis Rogeri de Ledes, factum. *Yorks Arch. Soc.* xvii. 55-58.
- SKeat (W. W.). The wild tribes of the Malay peninsula. *Anthrop. Inst.* N.S. v. 124-141.
- Malay spiritualism. *Folklore*, xiii. 134-165.
- SMITH (CECIL). A proto Attic vase. *Journ. Hell. Stud.* xxii. 29-45.
- and R. DE RUSTAFJELL. *Journ. Hell. Stud.* xxii. 190-207.
- SMITH (SAMUEL, JUNR.). Some notes on the coins struck at Omdurman by the Mahdi and the Khalifa. *Num. Chron.* 4th S. ii. 62-73.

- SOLOMON (V.). Extracts from diaries kept in Car Nicobar, 1895-1901. *Anthrop. Inst. N.S.* v. 202-238.
- SOMERVAIL (ALEX.). Further observations on the Teign and its valley. *Dev. Assoc.* xxxiv. 528-530.
- SOUTHESK (EARL OF). Douglas, Percy, and the Cavers ensign. *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* xxxvi. 246-280.
- SPARKE (A.). Sculptured basin found at Drumburgh. *Cumb. and West. Antiq. and Arch. Soc.* N.S. ii. 115-117.
- SPIEGELBERG (WILHELM). The fragments of the Astarte papyrus of the Amherst collection. *Bibl. Arch. Soc.* xxiv. 41-50.
- The Hieratic text in Mariette's Karnak. *Bibl. Arch. Soc.* xxiv. 320-324.
- STEPHENSON (MILL). A list of palimpsest brasses. *Mon. Brass Soc.* iv. 189-211, 219-245, 251-288.
- Monumental brasses formerly in Great Marlow church. *Bucks Archit. and Arch. Soc.* viii. 446-456.
- Female head-dresses exemplified by Surrey brasses. *Surrey Arch. Soc.* xvii. 180-181.
- Palimpsest brasses in Surrey. *Surrey Arch. Soc.* xvii. 181.
- STRANGE (E. F.). Notes on the rood-screen in Tacolneston church. Norfolk. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd S. xix. 142-146.
- STRATON (C. R.). An English manor in the time of Elizabeth. *Wilts Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* xxxii. 288-310.
- STREET (EUGÈNE E.). Courts cry'd at Chichester cross. *Sussex Arch. Coll.* xlv. 139-141.
- SUMMERS (H. H. C.). The ancient fonts of Powysland. *Montgomeryshire Coll.* xxxii. 163-174.
- Discovery of bronze axe heads near Dinas Mawddwy. *Montgomeryshire Coll.* xxxii. 327-330.
- Interesting find of an ancient game-stone near Oswestry. *Montgomeryshire Coll.* xxxii. 333.
- SYKES (REV. W. S.). Notes during the restoration of Whicham church. *Cumb. and West. Antiq. and Arch. Soc.* N.S. ii. 322-328.
- SYMONDS (REV. W.). The old parsonage at Sherston Magna. *Wilts Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* xxxii. 189-193.
- Llanfyllin old church, 1706. *Montgomeryshire*, 295-300.
- T. (D. R.). The register of Trefeglwys. *Montgomeryshire Coll.* xxxii. 203-222.

- T. (D. R.). The castle of Caereinion. *Montgomeryshire Coll.* xxxii. 223-226.
- TABOR (C. J.). Mid-Lent bonfire in Venice, 1819. *Folklore*, xiv. 92.
- TARN (W. W.). Notes on Hellenism in Bactria and India. *Journ. Hell. Stud.* xxii. 268-293.
- TAYLOR (REV. C. S.). Aust the place of meeting. *Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.* xxiv. 159-171.
- King Alfred and his family in Mercia. *Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.* xxiv. 330-353.
- TAYLOR (HENRY). The ancient crosses of Lancashire. *Lanc. and Ches. Antiq. Soc.* xvii. 1-31.
- TITE (CHARLES). Mr. Walter Winter Walter. *Somerset Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* xlviii. 22-23.
- THOMAS (D. R.). Flintshire subsidy roll, 1592. *Arch. Camb.* 6th S. ii. 141-150.
- THOMAS (N. W.). Yew wood. *Folklore*, xiii. 96.
- THOMAS (VEN. ARCHDEACON). Camps and earthworks of the Newtown district. *Arch. Camb.* 6th S. ii. 33-42.
- Montgomeryshire screens and roodlofts. *Montgomeryshire Coll.* xxxii. 1-32.
- THOMPSON (HAROLD STUART). On the study of topography. *Birm. and Mid. Inst.* xxvi. 81-88.
- THOMPSON (W. N.). Gosforth in the chartulary of St. Bees. *Cumb. and West Antiq. and Arch. Soc.* N.S. ii. 307-321.
- THOMSON (BASIL). Notes upon the antiquities of Tonga. *Anthrop. Inst.* N.S. v. 81-88.
- THORNLEY (REV. CANON). Ring marked stones at Glassonby and Maughanby. *Cumb. and West. Antiq. and Arch. Soc.* N.S. ii. 380-383.
- TOWNSEND (C. HARRISON). The art of pictorial mosaic. *Roy. Inst. Brit. Archit.* 3rd S. viii. 221-241.
- VANE (REV. THE HON. GILBERT H. F.). Note on the discovery of a supposed lake-dwelling at Pike's End, in the parish of Lyneal-cum-Colemere, Shropshire. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd S. xix. 140-142; *Shropshire Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* 3rd S. ii. 408-409.
- The castle of Wem. *Shropshire Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* 3rd S. ii. 287-290.
- Judge Jeffreys's house at Wem. *Shropshire Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* 3rd S. ii. 291.

- VIGORS COL. P. D.). Irish monumental inscription in England. *Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, 5th S. xii. 409-410.
- Customs in old leases. *Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, 5th S. xii. 412.
- VINYCOMB (J.). Badge of the Roy. Soc. of Antiquaries of Ireland. *Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, 5th S. xii. 416-417.
- VISITATIONS in the diocese of York holden by Archbishop Edward Lee, 1534-5. *Yorks Arch. Soc.* xvi. 424-458.
- W. W. C.). Nether hall in Roydon; notes from the inquisitions. *Essex Arch. Soc.* viii. 378.
- Barking. *Essex Arch. Soc.* viii. 379.
- WALKER (BENJAMIN). Some notes on Domesday book, especially that part of it which relates to the county of Warwick. *Birm. and Mid. Inst.* xxvi. 33-80.
- WALLER (J. G.). Notes on a part of a tabella found at Blythburgh, Suffolk. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd. S xix. 40-42.
- WALLER (W. C.). An extinct county family: Wroth of Loughton hall. *Essex Arch. Soc.* viii. 345-352.
- Records of Tiltey abbey, preserved at Easton lodge. *Essex Arch. Soc.* viii. 353-362.
- WALTERS (H. B.). The church bells of Shropshire. *Shropshire Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* 3rd S. ii. 165-247.
- WALTERS (F. A.). Some remarks on the last silver coinage of Edward III. *Num. Chron.* 4th S. ii. 176-183.
- The silver coinage of the reign of Henry VI. *Num. Chron.* 4th S. ii. 224-266.
- WARD (JOHN). Pre-historic interments near Cardiff. *Arch. Camb.* 6th S. ii. 25-32.
- WELCH (ANNE M.). Sir John Fortescue. *Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.* xxiv. 193-250.
- WELCH (R.). Rosguil and the old kingdom of Fanad, the country of Mac Swyne-na-doe and Mac Swyne-na-Fanait. *Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, 5th S. xii. 225-231.
- WELFORD (R.). Local muniments. *Arch. Eliana*, xxiv. 128-177.
- WERE (F.). Bristol city coat of arms. *Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.* xxiv. 136-141.
- Heraldry in Red Lodge, Bristol. *Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.* xxiv. 262-266.
- WESTROPP (T. J.). Bullaun wells in Clare. *Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, 5th S. xii. 190.

- WESTROPP (T. J.). Bridgmans of county Clare. *Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, 5th S. xii. 190-192.
- — Burial of Dorothea Staupoole in Bath abbey. *Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, 5th S. xii. 264-265.
- — Literary coincidence in the records of Cork. *Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, 5th S. xii. 265.
- WETHERED (REV. F. T.). Diocesan history of Berkshire. *Berks. Bucks and Oxon Arch. Journ.* viii. 95-96.
- WEYMAN (H. T.). The members of parliament for Wenlock. *Shropshire Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* 3rd S. ii. 297-358.
- WHALE (REV. T. W.). Index to Domesday analysis, vol. xxviii. and Testa de Nevill tax roll XXX. with corrections. *Dev. Assoc.* xxxiv. 289-324.
- WHITESIDE (REV. J.). Shap church. *Cumb. and West Antiq. and Arch. Soc.* N.S. ii. 118-140.
- WHITLEY (H. MICHELL). Inventories of the collegiate churches of the Holy Cross, Crediton, and our blessed lady of Ottery. *Dev. Assoc.* xxxiv. 551-565.
- The churchwardens' accounts of St. Andrew's and St. Michael's, Lewes, from 1522 to 1601. *Sussex Arch. Coll.* xlv. 40-61.
- Priethawes. *Sussex Arch. Coll.* xlv. 204-208.
- A visitation of the church of Bosham. *Sussex Arch. Coll.* xlv. 216-217.
- WHITLEY (REV. D. G.). The Harlyn burials in the light of recent archæological discoveries in Europe. *Roy. Inst. Cornwall.* xv. 97-106.
- WHYTE (E. TOWRY). Ancient Egyptian objects in wood and bone. *Bibl. Arch. Soc.* xxiv. 84-85.
- Egyptian foundation deposits of bronze and wooden model tools. *Bibl. Arch. Soc.* xxiv. 191.
- Types of ancient Egyptian draughtsmen. *Bibl. Arch. Soc.* xxiv. 261-263.
- WICKHAM (MISS). Early nonconformity in Bideford. *Dev. Assoc.* xxxiv. 410-417.
- WILL of Timothy Bright, M.D., rector of Methley and Barwick-in-Elmet, 1615. *Yorks Arch. Soc.* xvii. 50-54.
- WILLIAMS (COL. J. G.). The state swords of the city of Lincoln. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd S. xix. 18-31.
- WILLIAMS (H. W.). The Manian Fawr stone. Pembrokeshire. *Arch. Camb.* 6th S. ii. 158-159.

- WILLIAMS (H. W.). The exploration of a prehistoric camp in Glamorganshire, *Arch. Camb.* 6th S. ii. 252-260.
- WILLIAMS (RICHARD). A parochial account of Newtown. *Montgomeryshire Coll.* xxxii. 175-202.
- WILSON (REV. J.). Calendar of charitable trusts in the diocese of Carlisle, 1736-1865. *Cumb. and West. Antiq. and Arch. Soc.* N.S. ii. 348-379.
- WINDEATT (ED.). Totnes : its mayors and mayoralties. *Dev. Assoc.* xxxiv. 325-343.
- — — Muniments of the corporation of Totnes. *Dev. Assoc.* xxxiv. 704-714.
- WINDLE (BERTRAM C. A.). On some early roads of Warwickshire and Worcestershire, *Birm. and Mid. Inst.* xxv. 39-45.
- WORDSWORTH (REV. CHR.). On some pardons or indulgences preserved in Yorkshire, 1412-1527. *Yorks Arch. Soc.* xvi. 369-423.
- WORTH (R. HANSFORD). Twenty-first report of the barrow committee. *Dev. Assoc.* xxxiv. 104-146.
- — — The petrography of Dartmoor and its borders. *Dev. Assoc.* xxxiv. 496-527.
- WROTH (WARWICK). Greek coins acquired by the British Museum in 1901. *Num. Chron.* 4th S. ii. 313-344.
- WRAY (L.). Notes on dyeing and weaving as practised at Sitiawan in Perak. *Anthrop. Inst.* N.S. v. 153-155.
- YEATES (F. WILLSON). Three lead tickets of the eighteenth century. *Num. Chron.* 4th S. ii. 74-77.
- YORKSHIRE briefs. *Yorks Arch. Soc.* xvii. 59-71.
- YORKSHIRE deeds. *Yorks Arch. Soc.* xvii. 96-126.

INDEX.

- Abbeys: *Bedford, Bilson, Brakspear, Cox, Knowles.*
 Aberdeenshire: *Anderson, Coles, Eeles.*
 Admiralty, High Court of: *Marsden.*
 Ælfred the Great: *Evans, Taylor.*
 African natives: *Balfour, Johnstone, Myres, Roscoe.*
 Anglo-Saxon antiquities: *Dale.*
 Antrim: *Buick.*
 Armour: *Dillon.*
 Architecture: *Bond, Brakspear, Brydon, Cossins, Cox, Flower.*
 Arran: *Bryce, Murray.*
 Ash Bocking: *Cowell.*
 Asia Minor: *Cowper.*
 Aspenden: *Sanderson.*
 Assington: *Assington.*
 Assyrian antiquities: *Boissier, Johns.*
 Astley: *Churchill.*
 Avebury: *Harrison.*
 Babylonian antiquities: *Boissier, Pinches, Sayce.*
 Balmerino: *Hutcheson.*
 Bangor: *Hughes.*
 Barking: *W.*
 Barns (mediaeval): *Andrews.*
 Bath: *Cochrane, Hick, Westropp.*
 Battles: *Ball, Collingwood.*
 Bedford: *Sanderson.*
 Bedwin: *Carlyon-Britton.*
 Bells (church): *Gaythorpe, Hudson, Parker, Poppleton, Raven, Walters.*
 Belvoir: *Carrington.*
 Berkshire: *Gardiner, Wethered.*
 See "Bradfield," "Hungerford," "Long Wittenham," "Wargrave."
 Bewcastle: *Curwen.*
 Biblical antiquities: *Burkitt, Cook (S.A.), Girdlestone, Howorth, Oosterley, Offord.*
 Bibliography and literature: *Adams, Axon, Gasquet.*
 Bideford: *Duncan, Granville, Wickham.*
 Biography and family history: *Allen (W. T.), Axon, Ball, Bewley, Bowles, Bridgeman, Brushfield, Burtchaell, Chitty, Crake, Danby, Ditchfield, Farrer, Fitzgerald, Goldsborough, Gough, Grant, Green, Gurdon, Kendrick, Langrishe, Parker, Patching, Tite, Waller, Ward, Westropp.*
 Birmingham: *Pearson.*
 Bitterne: *Fox.*
 Blanchland: *Knowles.*
 Blythburgh: *Waller.*
 Bosham: *Whitley.*
 Bradfield: *Cope.*
 Brightling: *Alexander.*
 Bristol: *Atchley, Barker, Latimer, Pritchard, Were.*
 Broadward: *Read.*
 Broughter: *Cochrane.*
 Bronze age antiquities: *Allen, Cowper, Greenwell, Hughes, Hutcheson, Read, Summers.*
 Buckinghamshire: *Foster, Sanderson.* See "Fingest," "Ivinghoe," "Marlow, Great," "Marlow, Little," "Wing."
 Buntingford: *Greg.*
 Caereinion: *T.*
 Cambridgeshire: See "Cottenham."
 Canterbury: *Kershaw.*
 Cardiff: *Halliday, Ward.*

- Carlisle : *Ferguson*.
 Caerwent : *Ashby*.
 Campden : *Osborne*.
 Castles : *Andrews, Omurethi, Pearson, Pritchett, Round, Sands, T., Vane*.
 Castleton : *Addy, Gould*.
 Cathedrals : *Bond*.
 Ceremonial (royal) : *Fletcher*.
 Chantries : *Atchley, Fallow*.
 Charles II. : *Dillon*.
 Cheshire : *Irvine*. See "Chester."
 Chester : *Elton*.
 Chester-le-Street : *Fallow*.
 Chichester : *Arnold, Street*.
 Chinese antiquities : *Collingwood*.
 Chipping Camden : *Crouch*.
 Chisfield : *Andrew*.
 Church accounts : *Daniel, Davis, Ellis, Whitley*.
 Church plate : *Bates, Gardiner*.
 Churches : *Aitchinson, Amos, Anderson (A. W.), Andrew, Assington, Bilson, Churchill, Clark, Curven, Eld, Fairbank, Ferguson, Flower, Forsyth, Glynne, Grainger, Granville, Halliday, Hughes, Johnston (C. E.), Johnston (P. M.), Markham, Morris, Norman, Pinckney, Pollard, Ponting, Round, Sanderson, Shepherd, Sykes, Symonds, Whiteside*.
 Clare : *Westropp*.
 Clave : *Sherlock*.
 Coffins (parish) : *Fowler*.
 Colchester : *Gould, Laver*.
 Coptic church : *Crum, Gilmore*.
 Cork : *Johnston, Westropp*.
 Cornwall : *Baring-Gould, Enys, Peter*. See "St. Buryan."
 Coronations : *Dillon, Legg, O'Reilly*.
 Cottenham : *Evelyn-White*.
 Coventry : *Harris*.
 Crayke : *Fowler*.
 Crediton : *Whitley*.
 Crick : *Churchill*.
 Cuckfield : *Cooper*.
 Cumberland : *Dymond, Gaythorpe, Haverfield, Hodgson, Wilson*. See "Bewcastle," "Carlisle," "Glassonby," "Great Clifton," "Holme Cultram," "Maryport," "Whicham."
 Cyprus antiquities : *Church*.
 Dale : *Cox*.
 Dartmoor : *Burnard, Worth*.
 Datchworth : *Amos*.
 Derby : *Bailey*.
 Derbyshire : *Andrew, Bowles, Carington, Kirke*. See "Castleton," "Derby," "Dale," "Repton," "Smalley," "Tideswell," "Tissington."
 Devonshire : *Adams, Amery, Bond, Brushfield, Elsworth, Erskine-Risk, Giffard, Lega-Weekes, Lethbridge, Reichel, Rowe, Somervail, Whale, Worth*. See "Bideford," "Crediton," "Dartmoor," "Hartland," "Ottery," "Torrington," "Tottesnes."
 Dialect : *Elsworth*.
 Diaries : *Barrow-in-Furness*.
 Domesday : *Drinkwater, Reichel, Walker, Whale*.
 Droxford : *Dale*.
 Dublin : *O'Reilly*.
 Durham : *Kitchen*.
 Durham : See "Chester-le-Street."
 Eardiston : *Kenyon*.
 Earthworks, camps : *Barbour, Buick, Lloyd, Thomas, Williams*.
 Edinburgh : *Coles*.
 Egyptian antiquities : *Clarke, Crum, Legge, Nash, Naville, Petrie, Pleyte, Read, Ricci, Sayce, Whyte*.
 Erlestoke : *Goddard*.
 Essex : *Christy*. See "Barking," "Colchester," "Roydon," "Thorrington," "Tiltey," "Willingale Doe."
 Exchequer tallies : *Norman*.
 Farm houses : *Allen, Johnston*.
 Felton : *Kenyon*.
 Fingest : *Forsyth, Parker*.
 Flintshire : *Thomas*.
 Folklore : *Addy, Amery, Arnold, Bell, Bewitching, Breasted, Brown, Burne, Crooke, Crum, Dams, Gaster, Goodrich-Freen, Haddon, Hale, Hartland, Hetherwick, Kennedy, Lang, Lovett, McDonald, Milne, Nicholson, Nutt, Ordish, Peacock, Redstone, Rivers, Roscoe, Rose, Skeat, Summers, Tabor, Thomas, Vigors*.

- Fonts : *Andrew, Ellis, Fryer, Summers.*
 Fountains : *Bilson.*
 Gilston : *Johnston.*
 Glamorganshire : *Griffith, Williams.*
 Glassonby : *Thorndley.*
 Glastonbury : *Daniel, Gray.*
 Gloucester : *Dancey.*
 Gloucestershire : *See "Bristol," "Camden," "Chipping Camden," "Gloucester."*
 Gold objects : *Bigger, Cochrane.*
 Gosforth : *Collingwood, Parker, Thompson.*
 Great Clifton : *Lidbetter.*
 Greek antiquities : *Baker-Penoyre, Burkitt, Cook (A. B.), Cronin, Foat, Headlam, Hirst, Hogarth, Hopkinson, Munro, Murray, Rustafjaell, Sayce, Sitwell, Smith, Tarn.*
 Guilsfield : *Guilsfield, Read.*
 Hadleigh : *Hadleigh, Hervey.*
 Haliwerfolk : *Fowler.*
 Hampshire : *See "Bitterne," "Droxford," "Ropley," "Silchester," "Southampton."*
 Harrogate : *Kaye.*
 Hartland : *Chope.*
 Hastings : *Crake, Dawson.*
 Haughton : *Kenyon.*
 Hawkeworth : *Allen.*
 Hayles : *Brakspear.*
 Henry VII : *Leadam.*
 Herefordshire. *See "Broadward," "Llanveynoe."*
 Hertfordshire. *See "Aspenden," "Buntingford," "Chisfield," "Datchworth," "Gilston," "Hitchin," "Hoddesdon," "Hunsdon," "Knebworth," "Layston," "Rothampstead," "Stanstead," "Tring."*
 Hitchin : *Aylott.*
 Hoddesdon : *Evans, Hunt.*
 Holmbury Hill : *Malden.*
 Holme Cultram : *Grainger.*
 Houses : *Allen, Ashby, Curwen, De Hamel, Doubleday, Evelyn, Hamilton, Hunt, Irvine, Keyser, Palmer, Savory, Symonds.*
 Hungerford : *Ditchfield.*
 Hunsdon : *Morris.*
 Inchtuthil : *Abercromby, Anderson, Ross.*
 Industries : *Arnold.*
 Inscriptions : *Allen, Christison.*
 Greek : *Hasluck.*
 Ogham : *Berry, Buick, Fitzgerald, Rhys.*
 Roman : *Blair.*
 Runic : *Kaye.*
 Inventories : *Dewick, Rice, Whitley*
 Ireland : *Bull, Coffey, Esmonde, Ffrench, Knox, Latimer, McKeefry, Macray, Moore, O'Reilly, Welch. See "Antrim," "Broughter," "Clare," "Clave," "Cork," "Dublin," "Kerry," "Kildare," "Rathmichael," "Tuam."*
 Ironworks : *Collingwood, Guiseppi.*
 Ivinghoe : *Payne.*
 James (Duke of York) : *Dillon.*
 Jewellery : *Dalton.*
 John : *Cuffe.*
 Kent : *See "Canterbury," "Richborough," "Rochester," "Sutton Valence."*
 Knebworth : *Anderson (A. W.)*
 Kerry : *Lynch.*
 Kersey : *Fickland.*
 Kildare : *Fitzgerald.*
 Kirklees : *Kirklees.*
 Lacock : *Clark-Maxwell.*
 Lancashire : *Ellis, Fishwick, Taylor. See "Liverpool," "Manchester," "Ribchester."*
 Landysilio : *Pryce.*
 Layston : *Pollard.*
 Leicestershire. *See "Belvoir."*
 Lewes : *Whitley.*
 Lincoln : *Williams.*
 Lindisfarne : *Astley.*
 Literary History : *Doubleday.*
 Littlecote : *Money.*
 Liverpool : *Elton.*
 Llandaff : *Halliday.*
 Llandenny : *Halliday.*
 Llanfihangel-Glyn : *Hughes.*
 Llanfyllin : *Symonds.*
 Llangendierne : *Clark.*
 Llanhillith : *Halliday.*
 Llanveynoe : *Allen.*
 Llanwouno : *Halliday.*
 London : *Davis, Dewick, Gomme, Hope, Milne, Norman, O'Reilly, Price, Read, Richards, Shepherd.*

Long Wittenham : *Hewett*.
 Longwitten : *Blair*.
 Lyneal-cum-Colemere : *Vane*.

Malays : *Skeat*.
 Malmesbury : *Hick*.
 Manchester : *Harrison, Hudson, Roeder*.
 Manorial customs : *Clark-Maxwell, Kirby, Straton*.

Markets : *Greg, Knubley*.
 Marlborough : *Carlyon-Britton*.

Marlow, Great : *Stephenson*.

Marlow, Little : *Peers*.

Maryport : *Little*.

Maughanby : *Thornley*.

Merchant Adventurers : *Lingelbach*.

Merstham : *Pearman*.

Middleton : *De Hamel*.

Military engines : *Clephan*.

Monuments, brasses, etc. : *Bailey, Christy, Cochrane, Cox, Fitzgerald, Oliver, Parker, Sanderson, Stephenson, Vigors*.

Mosaic : *Townsend*.

Municipal antiquities : *Aylott, Dan-
 ce, Dawson, Elton*.

Mural painting : *Page*.

Museums : *Gray*.

Names (personal) : *Fishwick*.

New Zealand natives : *Best*.

Newtown : *Thomas, Williams*.

Norfolk : *Haverfield*. See "Tacol-
 neston."

Northampton : *Markham*.

Northamptonshire. See "Crick,"
 "Northampton"

Northumberland : *Hodgkin, Hodg-
 son*. See "Blanchland," "Gos-
 forth," "Longwitten."

Nottinghamshire : See "Hawks-
 worth."

Numismatics : *Carlyon - Britton, Maurice*.

Addedoniaros : *Evans*.

Æfwald I : *Creeke*.

Æthelred I : *Creeke*.

African : *Smith*.

Canterbury : *Kershaw*.

Coin weights : *Bigger*.

Eadgar : *Grueber*.

Edward IV—Henry VIII : *Law-
 rence*.

Numismatics—(continued).

Edward III : *Walters*.

Greek : *Wroth*.

Henry V : *Grueber*.

Henry VI : *Walters*.

Medals : *G., Hill, Yeates*.

Morocco : *Johnston*.

Oriental : *Codrington, Dames, Howorth, MacDonald*.

Roman : *Evans, Haverfield*.

Shropshire : *Kenyon*.

Tokens : *Patterson, Pritchard, Searle*.

William I : *Carlyon-Britton*.

William II : *Carlyon-Britton*.

Orkney : *Charleson*.

Ornament : *Allen*.

Ottery : *Whitley*.

Oxfordshire : *Hone*. See "Thame."

Pagham : *Johnston*.

Parish registers : *Lloyd, Mallwyd, Phillips, T*.

Perthshire : *Anderson, Christison, Ross*.

Pevensey : *Hudson*.

Place names : *Nevill, Potter*.

Polstead : *Eld*.

Pottery : *Hobson, Hughes*.

Kabyle : *Myres, Randall-McIver*.

Prehistoric remains : *Beddoe, Col-
 lingwood, Dymond, Mann, Mun-
 ro, Richardson, Ward*.

Bone pins : *Ffrench*.

Caves : *Dawkins*.

Chambers : *Clinch*.

Cists : *Anderson, Coles, Lett*.

Crannogs : *Knott, Vane*.

Horses : *Munro*.

Neolithic times : *Hancox*.

Stone implements : *Ravensley, Rotherham*.

Priesthaves : *Whitley*.

Rathmichael : *Ball*.

Reading : *Bilson*.

Rednal : *Kenyon*.

Repton : *Hipkins*.

Ribchester : *Garstang*.

Richborough : *Goddard*.

Ringmer : *Legge*.

Rispain : *Barbour*.

Rochester : *Bond*.

- Roman remains: *Cowper, Haverfield, Murray.*
 Bitterno: *Fox.*
 Caerwent: *Ashby.*
 Coins: *Evans, Haverfield.*
 Earthworks: *Evelyn-White.*
 Great Chesters: *Gibson.*
 Inchtuthil: *Abercromby, Anderson, Ross.*
 Inscriptions: *Blair.*
 Mancetter: *Chattaway.*
 Manchester: *Roeder.*
 Military engines: *Clephan.*
 Silchester: *Hope.*
 Ribchester: *Ribchester.*
 Richborough: *Goddard.*
 Roads: *Climenson.*
 Villas: *Barker.*
 Uriconium: *Phillips.*
 Wall: *Hodgkin.*
- Rome: *Aitchinson, Lanciani.*
 Ropley: *Kirby.*
 Rothampstead: *Keyser.*
 Roydon: *W.*
 Rye: *Andrews.*
- St. Buryan: *St. Buryan.*
 St. David's: *Allen.*
 Sanctuaries: *Harrison.*
 Seals: *Andrews, Caldecott, Hope, O.*
 Scotland: *Cannibalism, Christison, Mitchell, Reid, Southesk. See*
 "Aberdeenshire," "Arran,"
 "Balmerino," "Edinburgh,"
 "Inchtuthil," "Orkney,"
 "Perthshire," "Rispain."
- Selsey: *Arnold.*
 Semington: *Ponting.*
 Shap: *Whiteside.*
 Shelvock: *Kenyon.*
 Sherston Magna: *Symonds.*
 Shrewsbury: *Drinkwater, Kenyon, Morris.*
 Shottaton: *Kenyon.*
 Shropshire: *Drinkwater, Flower, Phillips, Shropshire, Walters. See*
 "Eardiston," "Felton,"
 "Haughton," "Lyneal," "Rednal," "Shelvock," "Shottaton,"
 "Shrewsbury," "Sutton,"
 "Tedsmere," "Uriconium,"
 "Wem," "Wenlock," "Wikey."
- Silchester: *Hope.*
 Slindon: *Arnold.*
 Smalley: *Curry.*
- Somersetshire: *Bates, Haverfield. See*
 "Bath," "Glastonbury,"
 "Taunton,"
- Southampton: *Goddard.*
 Stainmore: *Collingwood.*
 Stanstead: *Andrews, Lewis.*
 Steeple Ashton: *Knubley, Ponting.*
 Stone circles: *Christison, Coles, Collingwood, Gowland, Harrison.*
 Stonehenge: *Gowland, Harrison.*
 Suffolk: *Hancox, Redstone. See*
 "Ash Boeking," "Assington,"
 "Blythburgh," "Hadleigh,"
 "Kersey," "Polstead," "Tudenham."
- Surrey: *Baz, Guiseppi, Nevill, Stephenson. See*
 "Holmbury Hill," "Merstham," "Pagham,"
 "Waddon," "Wandsworth,"
 "Warlingham," "Weybridge,"
 "Witton."
- Sussex: *Blaker, Cooper, Haverfield. See*
 "Bosham," "Brightling,"
 "Chichester," "Cuckfield,"
 "Hastings," "Lewes," "Pevensey,"
 "Ringmer," "Selsey,"
 "Slindon."
- Sutton: *Kenyon.*
 Sutton Valence: *Sands.*
- Tacolneston: *Strange.*
 Taunton: *Gray.*
 Tedsmere: *Kenyon.*
 Thame: *Ellis.*
 Thorrington: *Round.*
 Tideswell: *Cox.*
 Tiltey: *Walter.*
 Tissington: *Meade-Waldo.*
 Torrington: *Doe.*
 Totnes: *Windeatt.*
 Treasure Trove: *Blanchet.*
 Trefeglwys: *T.*
 Tring: *Payne.*
 Tuam: *Costello.*
 Tudenham: *Redstone.*
 Tumuli, cairns, barrows: *Bryce, Charleson, Dawkins, Eeles, Evans, Goddard, Hutcheson, Worth.*
- Uriconium: *Phillips.*
- Viking period: *Coffey.*

- Waddon : *Clinch*.
 Wales : *Glynne, Hughes, Phillips, Praetorius, Summers, Thomas, Williams*. See "Bangor," "Caereinion," "Caerwent," "Flintshire," "Glamorganshire," "Guilsfield," "Llandaff," "Llandenny," "Llanfihangel," "Llanfyllin," "Llangendierne," "Llanhilleth," "Llanwuno," "Newtown," "St. Davids," "Trefeglwys."
 Warwickshire : *Cossins, Walker, Windle*. See "Astley," "Birmingham," "Coventry," "Middleton."
 Walton : *Bedford*.
 Wandsworth : *Davis*.
 Wargrave : *Climenson*.
 Warlingham : *Johnston*.
 Wells : *Bull, Collingwood, Knox, Meade-Waldo, O'Reilly, Westropp*.
 Wem : *Vane*.
 Wenlock : *Cranage, Weyman*.
 Westmorland. See "Shap," "Stainmore," "Wharton," "Windermere."
 Weybridge : *Lloyd*.
 Whaddon : *Ponting*.
 Wharton : *Curwen*.
 Whicham : *Sykes*.
 William and Mary : *Dillon*.
 Willingale Doe : *Round*.
 Wills : *Phillips, Shropshire, Will*.
 Wiltshire : *Harrison, Heathcote Straton*. See "Erlestoke," "Lacock," "Malmesbury," "Marlborough," "Semington," "Sherston Magna," "Steeple Ashton," "Stonehenge," "Whaddon."
 Windermere : *Cowper*.
 Wing, *Payne*.
 Worcester : *Pinckney*.
 Worcestershire : *Andrews, Windle*. See "Worcester."
 Wotton : *Evelyn, Fairbank*.
 Yorkshire : *Leadman, Poppleton, Skaike, Visitations, Wordsworth, Yorkshire*. See "Crayke," "Fountains," "Haliwerfolk," "Harrogate," "Kirklees."

GETTY CENTER LIBRARY



3 3125 00098 9331

